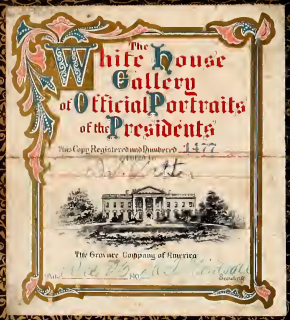
THE PRESIDENTS


The White House Gallery of Official Portraits of the Presidents
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The Presidents

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Editor's Note

THE Official Portraits of the Presidents as they hang in the White House have been selected from time to time as the best of each of our Chief Executives. Most of them have been painted by order of Congress, the artists being selected for their skill and reputation, and in most instances on account of their great personal knowledge of their subjects

The appreciation and historical review of the life and administration of each President has been especially prepared by a leading American. Of our many public men, the publishers have been fortunate in securing the man of all men in each case, who, by reason of his especial knowledge of a certain period of our history, is best adapted to write about it; and these contributions present accurately and authoritatively the really great accomplishments of each administration, while they give us at the same time a beautiful word picture of the personality of the President himself

The unique feature of the edition is the color impression sketches, illustrating the historic associations in the life and administration of each President

This Edition being limited, each copy is numbered and registered.

Number

The WHITE HOUSE GALLERY of OFFICIAL PORTRAITS of the PRESIDENTS

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JAMES MONROE	"	(Unknown)
JOHN QUINCY ADAMS	"	Healy
ANDREW JACKSON	"	Andrews
MARTIN VAN BUREN	"	Healy
W. H. HARRISON	"	Andrews
JOHN TYLER	"	Healy
JAMES K. POLK	"	Healy
ZACHARY TAYLOR	"	Andrews
MILLARD FILLMORE	"	Healy
FRANKLIN PIERCE	"	Healy
JAMES BUCHANAN	"	Andrews
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ANDREW JOHNSON	"	(Unknown)
U. S. GRANT	"	LeClaire
R. B. HAYES	"	Huntington
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JOHN QUINCY ADAMS . . . . BINGER HERMANN, *Commissioner of General Land Office*

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WILLIAM McKINLEY . . . . . WILLIAM M. STEWART, *U. S. Senator from Nevada*

G Washington

Washington

IT IS thirty years since I was named as the junior member of a committee of a Historical Society which had voted to print all the Washington letters in its collection. I showed the audacity of youth by saying squarely, that we must print the MSS. just as we found them — swear-words," bad spelling and all. A dear old saint, the chairman, said, after an awful pause, "I think Mr. Hale is right. I think the time has come when we can tell the truth about Washington." He was quite right. And the last forty years have been brave by telling the truth about Washington, as they learned it more and more certainly. As things now turned, it proves that the study of Washington is the man presents much more interesting than that of Washington the hero or the demigod.

As to education, one could hardly invent a better training than we had for the work of his life. Trained as a boy, to read and write well, and to use figures well, he falls, happily, into the constant company of his older brother, an officer in the English army and of Lord Fairfax, self-exiled from the best literary training of his time. [illegible] had been the friend of Steele and Addison, and had been favorite with, himself, [illegible] "Spectator," when, to this hour, most of us would be glad to have had a [illegible] In the summer this boy and his noble teacher are out in the Valley of Virginia [illegible] surveying as surveyor, sleeping at night in a log cabin or wigwam, and from the very beginning learning to know men—the characteristic of most help to him in his eventful life.

Till he comes to manhood, this sort of [illegible] career for him. And then, of a sudden, he becomes a [illegible] man, with his [illegible] of luxuries which belong to the owner of a large estate. It was said, when he was [illegible] that Hancock was the richest merchant in New England, George Washington [illegible] the country a remark to be applied by people who [illegible] happy adventures of the Monongahela River, of his second wedding [illegible] such a youngster.

The "rub-a-dub" carries us away so far that we [illegible] one of home life. But we must remember how much [illegible] sixtieth year. Between sixteen years and [illegible] military life. Of these fourteen are spent in war, [illegible] large fortune.

He was always a leading citizen. Before he met Congress [illegible] already known as "The Virginia Patriot" [illegible] every year, the leading member of the Virginian House of Burgesses. [illegible] When he spoke, he spoke with a purpose. Patrick Henry [illegible] Congress in 1774 [illegible] Washington is unquestionably the [illegible] studying men than such leadership in a Legislature implies. His life after-life [illegible] knowledge of men was of the greatest service to him.

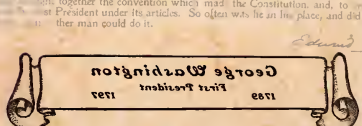
His home life at Mount Vernon was generous, even lavish, in the largest sense, and in the completeness with which "He did the thing that he was set to do." Mount Vernon flourished under the high strict principles of the West Indies. The largest river were manned by uniformed crews of his own people; the horses in the stables were blood, and when in the autumn the hounds were found, he could mount [illegible] as Mount Vernon had welcomed. Vulcan, Sweetlips, Forester, Ruler, Searcher, Valiant, the names of some of the [illegible] Virginia hospitality showed itself as very best at Mount Vernon. [illegible] found her way so far up the [illegible] themselves [illegible]

There is a curious passage in a letter to a London friend, [illegible] America will never again have any news to send to England. If [illegible] filled madness of such people as Lord Wurth and Lord [illegible] King, who shall say that things might not have worked [illegible] more, with no defect between Colonies virtually [illegible] place?

But this was not to be, and when the Continental Congress [illegible] course that "the Virginia Patriot" should be at the head [illegible] Observe, now, that this was an assembly of civilians. The [illegible] to the King might break through the mimic hedges. [illegible] the throne." It remained for Franklin's possession [illegible] ably appeared Colonel George Washington, dressed in military uniform, the blue [illegible] be it remembered, of old English whigger. By an indication so simple did Colonel Washington show that this business was to be settled.

The world remembers him as the man who saved what could be saved after Braddock's defeat, the man who drove General Howe from Boston, who kept the Army of America in the field for six years, who saw five English Generals withdraw from America. The same man brought together the convention which made the Constitution, and, to crown his career, became first President under its articles. So often was he in his place, and did what was to be done, as no other man could do it.

Edward E. Hale



George Washington
First President
1789 1797

Washington

T IS thirty years since I was named as the junior member of a committee of a Historical Society which had voted to print all the Washington letters in its collection. I showed the audacity of youth, by saying squarely, that we must print the MSS. just as we found them, "swear-words," bad spelling, and all. A dear old saint, the chairman, said, after an awful pause, "I think Mr. Hale is right. I think the time has come when we can tell the truth about Washington." He was quite right. And the last forty years have been bravely telling the truth about Washington, as they learned it more and more certainly. As things have now turned, it proves that the study of Washington the man proves much more interesting than that of Washington the hero or the demigod.

As to education, one could hardly invent a better training than he had for the work of his life. Trained as a boy, to read and write well, and to use figures well, he falls, happily, into the constant company of his older brother, an officer in the English army and of Lord Fairfax, self-exiled from the best literary training of his time. Fairfax had been the friend of Steele and Addison, and had been favored with, himself, of writing for the "Spectator," when, to this hour, most of us would be glad to have had a stray article. In the summer the boy and his noble teacher are out in the Valley of Virginia; soon the boy is acting as surveyor, sleeping at night in a log cabin or wigwam, and from the very beginning learning to know men—the characteristic of most help to him in his eventful life.

Till he comes to manhood, this sort of life seemed to open his career for him. And then, of a sudden, he becomes a rich man, with the responsibilities and anxieties which belong to the owner of a large estate. It was said, when the war began, that as John Hancock was the richest merchant in New England, George Washington was the richest citizen of the country, a remark to be studied by people who fear the dangers of wealth. The happy adventures of the Monongahela River, of his dealings with the French, give just the openings for such a youngster.

The "rub-a-dub" carries us away so far that we recall a dozen stories of war for one of home life. But, we must remember how much of his life was spent at home. He died in his seventieth year. Between sixteen years and seventy, we have fifty-four years of singularly active life. Of these fourteen are spent in war, and forty in the varied occupations of a gentleman of large fortune.

He was always a leading citizen. Before he met Congress in the Continental Congress he was already known as "The Virginia Patriot." From the time of the peace of 1763 he was almost every year, the leading member of the Virginian House of Burgesses. Here he was a leader. When he spoke, he spoke with a purpose. Patrick Henry said of his speeches in the meeting of Congress in 1774: "If you speak of solid information and sound judgment, Colonel Washington is unquestionably the greatest man on that floor." He could have had no better school for studying men than such leadership of a Legislature implies. In his after-life his accurate knowledge of men was of the greatest service to him.

His home life at Mount Vernon was generous, even lavish, in the largeness of its hospitalities, and in the completeness with which "He did the thing that he was set to do." The Mount Vernon flour commanded the highest prices in the West Indies. The barges on the river were manned by uniformed crews of his own people, the horses in the stable were of the best blood, and when in the autumn the hounds were called, he could mount as many guests as Mount Vernon had welcomed. Vulcan, Sweetlips, Forester, Truelove are the names of some of the hounds. Ajax, Blue Skin, Valiant are the names of some of the horses.

Virginia hospitality showed itself at its very best at Mount Vernon. If an English cruiser found her way so far up the river, the officers found themselves guests at the mansion house.

There is a curious passage in a letter to a London friend, in which he says, practically, that America will never again have any news to send to England. If it had not been for the double-distilled madness of such people as Lord Worth and Lord George Germain, and, most of all, of the young King, who shall say that things might not have worried on in a decorous fashion for a generation more, with no conflict between Colonies virtually independent and a king who knew his place?

But this was not to be, and when the Continental Congress met at Philadelphia it was a matter of course that "the Virginia Patriot" should be the head of the Virginia delegation.

Observe, now, that this was an assembly of civilians. They had really supposed that their petition to the King might break through the ministerial hedges. In fact it was "spurned from the foot of the throne." It remained in Franklin's possession till he died. At this civilian assembly appeared Colonel George Washington, dressed in military uniform, the blue and buff, be it remembered, of old English whiggery. By an indication so simple did Colonel Washington show that this business was to be settled.

The world remembers him as the man who saved what could be saved after Braddock's defeat—the man who drove General Howe from Boston, who kept the Army of America in existence for six years, who saw five English Generals withdraw from America. The same man brought together the convention which made the Constitution, and, to crown his career, was the first President under its articles. So often was he in his place, and did what was to be done, as no other man could do it.

Edward E. Hale.

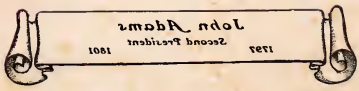
John Adams

Adams

THE procla[illegible] as President, with reference to the coins of [illegible] but in itself it initiated no policy. It [illegible] 1787 to carry out the provisions of the act [illegible] 9, 1793, which allowed foreign gold and [illegible] as legal tender for three years after the [illegible] commence coinage under the act [illegible] the coins of the United States. [illegible] the mint commenced the coinage [illegible] 1794, and of gold on the 31st of [illegible] cease to be legal tender in [illegible] Spanish milled dollars. Such [illegible] progress of the policy [illegible] Washington.

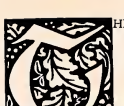
Adams, according to his [illegible] regarded his [illegible] Holland and its results, [illegible] the value of his services [illegible] and the [illegible] ding of the young republic [illegible] than $10,000,000 [illegible] had been protected [illegible] Holland [illegible] issaries were busy [illegible] French minister [illegible] ce with Great Britain [illegible] States stood before Europe [illegible] task before Mr. Adams [illegible] the emergency. The [illegible] bearing, not always he[illegible] in the highest d[illegible] ary, prepared as it was [illegible] land, as a separate [illegible] was granted, and Mr A[illegible] powers at The Hague [illegible] a recognized nation engag[illegible] the United States as bor[illegible] On Jul. 28, 1783, he was [illegible] assuring you that there is not [illegible] as quick as min[illegible] ted the bankers [illegible] es who for for[illegible] of 1782 was [illegible] ent. for paying [illegible] halcyon day [illegible] wrote to Franklin [illegible] his republic is dead [illegible] plan of revenue a[illegible] the year by a sort of [illegible] though in the [illegible] with which he was [illegible] Mr. Adams [illegible] 1788. The loan [illegible] That of 1789 [illegible] Holland Mr. Adams [illegible] had set on foo[illegible] -President and [illegible] his later life, in [illegible] than: Here [illegible] in the year 1800 [illegible] that difficult service. But [illegible] achievement [illegible] in [illegible] uring moneys for its emp[illegible] recognition [illegible] comparison.

After all and above all, h[illegible] him unique place, [illegible] vanity and his prejudices and his quarrels, as among the architects of the republic, the [illegible] organizer of the movement for American independence.



John Adams
Second President
1797 1801

Adams



HE proclamation of John Adams, as President, with reference to the coins of the United States is interesting, but in itself it initiated no policy. It was issued July 22, 1797, to carry out the provisions of the act of Congress, passed February 9, 1793, which allowed foreign gold and silver coins to pass current as legal tender for three years after the mint of the United States should commence coinage under the act "establishing a mint and regulating the coins of the United States." This proclamation gave notice that the mint commenced the coinage of silver on the 15th of October, 1794, and of gold on the 31st of July, 1795, and that foreign coins would cease to be legal tender in three years from those respective dates. Exception was made in favor of Spanish milled dollars. Such a notice was simple compliance with the act cited, and marks the progress of the policy of Hamilton, approved by Congress under Washington.

Mr. Adams, according to his grandson, Charles Francis Adams, always regarded his mission to Holland and its results, "as the greatest success of his life." It is impossible to exaggerate the value of his services in that country in their bearing on the finances and the political standing of the young republic. He went to Holland with a commission to borrow not more than $10,000,000 on the credit of the United States. The bills of our infant government had been protested in France, and our poverty was well known in Holland. English emissaries were busy in arousing suspicion and extending distrust of our solvency. Even the French minister of foreign affairs devised obstructions to American plans. The treaty of peace with Great Britain was not to be made until September 3, 1783, and, therefore, the United States stood before Europe only as a congeries of rebellious colonies.

The task before Mr. Adams called for the exercise of all his powers, and they were well adapted for the emergency. The self-assertion, the confidence in himself, his haughty and aggressive bearing, not always helpful to the cause of which he was the champion, now were serviceable in the highest degree. The presentation of his memorial for recognition as minister plenipotentiary, prepared as it was with energy and persistence, marked the turning of the tide. First by Friesland, as a separate State, and then by the States General at the end of a year recognition was granted, and Mr. Adams rejoiced in a welcome among the representatives of the European powers at The Hague, as minister from the new power beyond the seas.

As a recognized nation engaged in negotiating a treaty of commerce with Holland, the position of the United States as borrower in the Dutch money markets became at once more favorable. On July 28, 1783, he was able to write to Secretary Livingston: "I have great pleasure in assuring you that there is not one foreign loan open in this republic, which is as good credit and goes as quick as mine," although Russia, Spain and France were borrowers. Mr. Adams resisted the bankers in the rate of charges on the loan, and entered on an arrangement with leading houses who for forty years continued as financial agents of the United States in Holland. The loan of 1782 was for $2,000,000, at 5 per cent. interest, with charges of 4½ per cent. and 1 per cent. for paying out the interest.

But halcyon days were not yet assured to Mr. Adams as a borrower. January 24, 1784, he wrote to Franklin from The Hague: "I am here only to be a witness that American credit in this republic is dead, never to rise again, at least until the United States shall all agree upon some plan of revenue, and make it certain that interest and principal will be paid." And yet before the year by a sort of lottery a loan for 2,000,000 guilders was consummated.

Although in the mean time the negotiations relating to the treaty of peace with Great Britain, with which he was in part charged, had called Mr. Adams from The Hague to Paris and London, Mr. Adams was an important factor in securing additional loans in Holland in 1787 and 1788. The loan of 1787 was for $10,000,000, at 5 per cent. interest, with 8 per cent. charges. That of 1788 was for only 1,000,000 guilders at 5 per cent. With subsequent loans in Holland Mr. Adams was not directly connected, but his efforts to establish the national credit abroad had set on foot influences which did not cease when he was called home to become at first Vice-President and in due course President of the United States.

In his later life, in 1815, Mr. Adams wrote: "I desire no other inscription over my gravestone than: 'Here lies John Adams who took upon himself the responsibility of the peace with France in the year 1800.'" High courage, strong purpose, noble patriotism were involved in that difficult service. But his labors and achievements in Holland for the young republic in securing moneys for its empty treasury and recognition before the world, do not suffer in comparison.

After all and above all, history will give him unique place, in spite of his vanity and his prejudices and his quarrels, as among the architects of the republic, the chief organizer of the movement for American independence.

Ellis H. Roberts

Th. Jefferson

Jefferson

THOMAS JEFFERSON still lives. The honors heaped upon him by the people were but their gifts to [illegible] benefactor, the insignia of his labors, his burdens and his care[illegible] How paltry seems that long catalogue of official designati[illegible] [illegible]ared with what he was himself—a man God-gifted an[illegible] [illegible]ed for the battle of right against wrong—compared to wha[illegible] [illegible] for the people, his gifts to them. There is not a heart that [illegible] [illegible]an'ty and thrills with noble [illegible]ge for right and truth and [illegible] [illegible]here is not a people on earth who are wear[illegible] and heavy laden [illegible] the burden of oppre[illegible] [illegible] there is not a cl[illegible] w[illegible] loves equ[illegible] [illegible] not a devotee who bows his head [illegible] worship to his Maker; there is not an ingenuous [illegible] by the midnight lam[illegible] there is not a [illegible] by land or sea; [illegible], there is not an [illegible]omer who reads the stars, nor [illegible] cabin, nor a freeman anywhere [illegible] treads the earth with the spirit [illegible] who [illegible] God that Thomas Jefferson [illegible] and that his life goes marching on!

What did Jefferson do for the peop[illegible] R[illegible] not do. He was [illegible] He loved them, trusted [illegible] comforted them, [illegible] So much for generalities.

It is true, as said by the Cicer[illegible] Massachusetts [illegible] E[illegible] that [illegible] Thomas Jefferson the imperishabl[illegible] fram[illegible] Declaration of Independence [illegible] never penned a syllable [illegible] it he would be immortal. It [illegible] the Established Church, threw him[illegible] against the great [illegible] and brought forth the first [illegible] of religious fr[illegible] the world. Imperishable renown with that, but without it he would [illegible] out.

It is true he negotiated the purchase of Louisiana from Napo[illegible] [illegible], securing the free navigation of the Mississippi to the co[illegible] throng its bank and adding the Great West and Southwest to the Un[illegible] territory ever won by man without a drop of blood. But without all this he w[illegible] He will be remembered as the most accomplished man America has ever [illegible]d.

Jefferson's mind was practical and of the kind which t[illegible] the mathematics, and no superstition could ever le[illegible] him from the [illegible] that two and two make four, world without end. He was as precise in de[illegible] and accurate in generalization. His [illegible] was [illegible] elephant's trunk in that [illegible] pick [illegible] pin or knock down a lion. When [illegible] he went regularly [illegible] mark[illegible] journal he kept a record of the d[illegible] spring fruit and v[illegible] The stately dome of the University of V[illegible] lines of the mansion at M[illegible] [illegible]ak the classic mind that reproduced [illegible].

He founded the Patent Office of the United States, but [illegible] an inventor? W[illegible] France, [illegible] he wrote his [illegible] the Revolution [illegible] about him, he invented a hills[illegible] from the "Royal Agricultural Society" at the Seine. He was [illegible] revolving office chair. The ri[illegible] grown in the Southern State[illegible] Jefferson h[illegible] in his pockets while in Italy and distributed ten grains [illegible] on his return. His influence is felt today when any important qu[illegible] [illegible]

He was a child of nature, this glorious Jefferson, and with all h[illegible] [illegible] was on the people's side of all questions. An honest son of M[illegible] man [illegible] faults, but no Pharisee. He had fewer faults and lesser [illegible] and [illegible] God-like virtues.

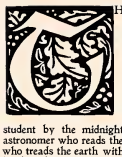
He was strong in all courage; yea, in civic courage, the rarest of all [illegible]ry. [illegible] Jefferson had the quiet, patient, daring, superb courage that look[illegible] the [illegible] dares confront and affront it and not flinch the encounte[illegible] W[illegible] Independence they said 'Rebel.'' When he stood for justice they said "C[illegible] When he stood for religious freedom they cried 'Infidel.'' When he aroused [illegible] against monarchy and concentrated power they said "Demagogue.' But the [illegible] heard him gladly. They knew th[illegible] ears, and wi[illegible] accord they said, "A[illegible] nd."

Dying without a pe[illegible] his very book[illegible], his land, his home we[illegible] from his [illegible]itors, and fighting s[illegible] every battle but his own, he crown[illegible] as victor in [illegible] battle that he won. [illegible] it is right that a man sues for, and if he does [illegible] that one [illegible]rn bridled and saddled, and the other booted and spurred—let [illegible] pluck a flower [illegible] his good man's life and wear it in his soul forever.

Jno. W. Daniel.

Thomas Jefferson
Third President
1801 1809

Jefferson



THOMAS JEFFERSON still lives. The honors heaped upon him by the people were but their gifts to their benefactor, the insignia of his labors, his burdens and his cares. How paltry seems that long catalogue of official designations compared with what he was himself—a man God-gifted and God-armed for the battle of right against wrong—compared to what he did for the people, his gifts to them. There is not a heart that loves humanity and thrills with noble rage for right and truth and justice; there is not a people on earth who are weary and heavy laden under the burden of oppression; there is not a chancellor who loves equity; there is not a devotee who bows his head in free worship to his Maker; there is not an ingenuous student by the midnight lamp; there is not a toiler by land or sea; yea, there is not an astronomer who reads the stars, nor an humble farmer in his cabin, nor a freeman anywhere who treads the earth with the spirit of the free who does not bless God that Thomas Jefferson lived, and that his life goes marching on!

What did Jefferson do for the people? Rather, what did he not do? He was one of them. He loved them, trusted them, guided them; he cheered them, he comforted them, he led them. So much for generalities.

It is true, as said by the Cicero of Massachusetts, Edward Everett, that there rests on Thomas Jefferson the imperishable renown of having framed the Declaration of Independence. But had he never penned a syllable of it he would be immortal. It is true he raised his hand against the Established Church, threw himself against the great landed proprietors and powerful party leaders and brought forth the first statute of religious freedom that adorned the history of the world. Imperishable renown with that, but without it he would have been immortal.

It is true he negotiated the purchase of Louisiana from Napoleon, gaining a kingdom for a song, securing the free navigation of the Mississippi to the countless multitudes who now throng its bank and adding the Great West and Southwest to the Union—the greatest territory ever won by man without a drop of blood. But without all this he would have been immortal. He will be remembered as the most accomplished man America has ever produced.

Jefferson's mind was practical and of the kind which turns things to account. He loved the mathematics, and no superstition could ever lead him from the rock-bed notion that two and two make four, world without end. He was as precise in detail as he was broad and accurate in generalization. His mind was like an elephant's trunk in that it could pick up a pin or knock down a lion. When he was President he went regularly to market, and in his journal he kept a record of the date of the appearance of spring fruits and vegetables. The stately dome of the University of Virginia and the classic lines of the mansion at Monticello bespeak the classic mind that reproduced them.

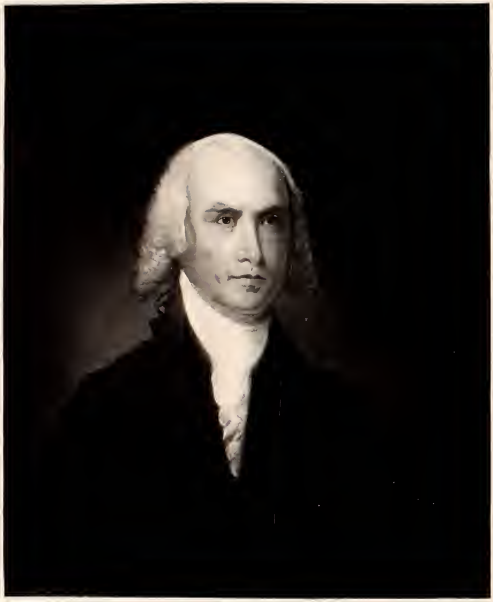
He founded the Patent Office of the United States, but do you know that he was himself an inventor? While in France, as minister, he wrote his admirable notes on Virginia, and with the Revolution fermenting about him, he invented a hillside plow which won him a medal from the "Royal Agricultural Society," of the Seine. He was also the inventor of the modern revolving office chair. The rice grown in the Southern States to-day is from grain which Jefferson hid in his pockets while in Italy, and distributed ten grains at a time to the farmers on his return. His influence is felt to-day when any important questions are up for discussion.

He was a child of nature, this glorious Jefferson, and with all his wisdom and all his culture he was on the people's side of all questions. An honest son of Mother Earth; a man with a man's faults, but no Pharisee. He had fewer faults and lesser faults than most, and noble and God-like virtues.

He was strong in all courage; yea, in civic courage, the rarest of all forms of bravery. This Jefferson had the quiet, patient, daring, superb courage that looks public opinion in the eye, and dares confront and affront it and not flinch the encounter. When he stood for Independence they said "Rebel." When he stood for justice they said "Communist." When he stood for religious freedom they cried "Infidel." When he aroused the people against monarchy and concentrated power they said "Demagogue." But the common people heard him gladly. They knew their ears, and with one accord they said, "All Hail, Our Friend."

Dying without a penny, his very books, his land, his home were sold away from his inheritors, and fighting successfully every battle but his own, he crowned the people as victor in every battle that he won. If it is right that a man sues for, and if he does not believe that one man is born bridled and saddled, and the other booted and spurred—let him pluck a flower from this good man's life and wear it in his soul forever.

Jno. W. Daniel.



James Madison

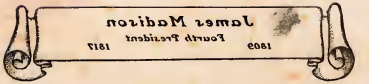
Madison

NOT all [illegible] The child of wealth has a harder task [illegible] the conquering in self-[illegible] necessity [illegible] and. It is a heart of rare det[illegible]tue that can put luxury aside [illegible] and de cod a[illegible]e on merit and on native [illegible] Summer. Such in a lesser measure of [illegible] was James Madison [illegible] as he was called. He was the child of [illegible] and [illegible] thus afforded to study self-discipline [illegible] common and consequent [illegible] therefore an inspiration [illegible] od is a lesson to all [illegible] would achieve mightily in the [illegible] power is needed. [illegible] method was to emphasize [illegible] and thereby [illegible] And so [illegible] power and [illegible] the instant [illegible] nothing [illegible] for the man to [illegible] where [illegible] ing. It [illegible] son!"

This is the [illegible] Madison [illegible] ase-ful. H[illegible] ills as Hamilton [illegible] a series of [illegible] ing [illegible] American figures [illegible] and [illegible] Madison [illegible] and [illegible] each great political leader [illegible] ing [illegible] And this is true in spite of [illegible] of the revered names of A[illegible]

Madison was a middle gr[illegible] Hamilton and Jefferson [illegible] Madison [illegible] of Hamilton h[illegible] and the [illegible] the idea of co[illegible] for the [illegible] with his own [illegible] and [illegible] Hamilton's [illegible] National [illegible] taxation and the [illegible] ating [illegible] ing back to the extr[illegible] drew the [illegible] Legislature, declaring the A[illegible] null and [illegible] Thus, within a single de[illegible] of "F[illegible]" Father of Nu[illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] to-day the mass of A[illegible] and [illegible] and remem[illegible] But this is [illegible] alone should [illegible] through all [illegible] purer. [illegible] Lothrop [illegible] and American love [illegible] All [illegible] forgiven [illegible] This land [illegible] people [illegible] who [illegible] America and [illegible] chronicle of the Nat[illegible] and grow nobler, purer and truer to [illegible] generations come and [illegible] All raising hand makes [illegible] all saintly fame save tha[illegible] and saint. The lustre of [illegible] against the background of universal [illegible] the pitying and [illegible] the deeds and the follies of [illegible] the narrower Mad[illegible] shall continue to live, world immortal by the [illegible] of patriotism.

Albert J. Beveridge



James Madison

Fourth President

1809 1817

Madison

NOT all great men were poor boys. The child of wealth has a harder task than the son of poverty. He lacks the compelling incentive of necessity. All things are at his hand. It is a heart of rare determination and a mind of uncommon virtue that can put luxury aside in youth and young manhood and depend alone on merit and on native force. Such a man was Sumner. Such in a lesser measure of fortune was Washington. And such, more than either, was James Madison, "Father of the Constitution," as he was called. He was the child of wealth, and yet he used the leisure thus afforded in study, self-discipline and thought. His early condition and subsequent success are therefore an inspiration to all the heirs of fortune. And his method is a lesson to all who would achieve mightily in the day when learning and trained intellectual power is needed. That method was to employ each hour in storing up knowledge, thought and therefore wisdom. And so his mind became an intellectual storage battery, charged with power and ready for the instant when Circumstance should call, as it always does, with startling suddenness, for the man of the hour. Life's opportunity sends no couriers ahead to prepare men for its coming. It appears on the instant without warning and cries aloud, "Here am I, where is the man!"

This is the sole secret of Madison's success. He never strove for place. His character was not masterful. He was a follower of mightier men. He was easily influenced by such lordly wills as Hamilton, easily seduced by such subtle minds as Jefferson. Thus his public service was a series of contradictions, compromises, doubts and fears. And yet he was one of the superior figures of that age of giants and of storm. He was this solely because he was equipped. His mind was an arsenal which all factions and all parties needed in their warfare, and which each great political leader sought to capture. He had made himself, by sheer preparedness, indispensable. And thus it is that in spite of variable will and neutral character, his is one of the revered names of American history.

Madison was a middle ground. Between those tremendous mountain peaks of power, Hamilton and Jefferson, standing over against each other, Madison was the valley. Under the influence of Hamilton he was a maker of the Constitution and the ablest aid of his great chief in forcing the idea of centralization on the Convention. Under the influence of Jefferson he was dissatisfied with his own immortal work, and advocated the amendments and the Bill of Rights. Under Hamilton's compelling hand he urged the power of National coercion to make effective National taxation and the National laws. Under the insinuating suggestions of Jefferson he swung back to the extreme of the States Rights view and drew the resolutions of the Virginia Legislature, declaring the Alien and Seditions laws "utterly null and void and of no effect." Thus, within a single decade, he secured the contradictory titles of "Father of the Constitution" and "Father of Nullification." Nothing so clearly shows the charitableness of Time than that to-day the mass of Americans willingly forget the last and remember with loving pride the first. But this is history, and in the realms of history truth alone should reign. However, in all and through all he was a patriot. His motives were absolutely pure. His intentions were exalted. Loftier love of country no man had; and Americans love him who loves America. All can be forgiven the patriot, and it should be so. This land of ours is the home of the master people of the world; our flag is sacred; our destiny is in the hand of God; and he who loves America and with a fervent faith serves this chosen people, shall be exalted in the chronicle of the Nation's great, and grow nobler, purer and dearer to American heart as generations come and go. Time with its erasing hand makes dim and finally obliterates all earthly fame save that of the patriot and saint. The lustre of these grows brighter against the background of universal blackness where the pitying and remorseless years have blotted out the deeds and the follies of the race. So lives the name of Madison, and so it shall continue to live, made immortal by the magic power of patriotism.

Albert J. Beveridge

James Monroe

Monroe

I HAVE be[illegible] requested to write m[illegible] as to what [illegible] or policy will ex-Pres[illegible] Monroe be best ren[illegible] by posterity. Public men are ren[illegible]red not so much [illegible] are as for what great policies [illegible] acts their names h[illegible] associated with. The plain [illegible] minded backwoods[illegible] Boone, occupies a large place [illegible] history of this coun[illegible] first pushed westward into [illegible] and estab[illegible] our [illegible] beyond the Alleg[illegible], and learned lawy[illegible] of that time who woul[illegible] looked dow[illegible] wi[illegible] plain pioneer have been [illegible]otten, while Boo[illegible] remembered by millions of Ame[illegible]. James Monr[illegible] fortunate because his name is associated, first, with the great westward extension [illegible] beyond the Mississippi, and secondly, with the enu[illegible]iation of a great doctri[illegible] for all time dominate the Western Hemisphere. When President Jeffers[illegible] the mouth of the Mississippi, in order to pre[illegible]ent the we[illegible] down the [illegible] and forcibly taking possession and th[illegible] precipitating [illegible] Jefferson being of a conservative and somewhat tim'd nature—he [illegible] purchasing from France the mouth of that river, and having [illegible] Monroe, he sent him [illegible] a special mission to France [illegible]

As Napoleon was [illegible] knowing that the British fleet had weakened [illegible] would be almost impossible to hold the mo[illegible] M[illegible] mind to treat favorably the proposition [illegible] Livingston. Through their combined [illegible] Mr. M[illegible] we were enabled to secure [illegible] territory extending west to [illegible] and making it for all time the do[illegible]

After the crushing def[illegible] Trafalgar, Great Britain was left mistre[illegible] 1812 by the descendants of the sea[illegible] Western Hemisphere. The Spanish [illegible] in throwing off the Spanish yo[illegible] institutions, formed what is [illegible] with [illegible] and determined to aid Spain in [illegible] Mr. Canning, the British minist[illegible] that the two countries should stand together [illegible] interference by European powers in American [illegible] Britain would lend [illegible] aid to the United States, if ne[illegible]

This pro[illegible] was [illegible] Mr. Jefferson at M[illegible] who replied tha[illegible] was the [illegible] to his notice [illegible] of Independence, and advised the President [illegible] proffered aid of England [illegible] celebrated Monroe Doctrine, which was pr[illegible] President Monroe [illegible] December 2, 18[illegible], was the result. This doctrine, w[illegible] had legislative [illegible] been accepted by the American people [illegible] a policy which [illegible] by a [illegible] to arms, and has also been accepted by some of the foreign powers.

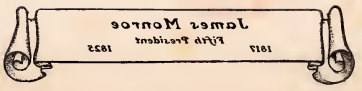
This doctrine was re-enunciated when Napoleon III attempted to put a [illegible] throne of Mexico and the United States placed an army upon the [illegible] notified Napoleon that the French troops must be withdrawn and the Me[illegible] themselves what form of government they desired. It was again re-enun[illegible] Venezuela question, and the interpretation put upon it by this Go[illegible] England, the only great sea power having anything like an ab[illegible]

A doctrine like this, which is accepted by the entire pop[illegible] irrespective of party, is more potent than any mere legislative action, and [illegible] this great doctrine Monroe must for all times be honored as one of the gr[illegible]

The potency of this doctrine should be an inspiration to our rule[illegible] showing them that great ends may be achieved by the firm and fearless [illegible] doctrines by the President of a great people independent of legislative action [illegible] bearing on the tremendous problems soon to be solved in the Far East.

John R. Winter

James Monroe
Fifth President
1817 1825



James Monroe
Fifth President
1817 1825

Monroe

HAVE been requested to write my opinion as to what act or policy will ex-President Monroe be best remembered by posterity. Public men are remembered not so much for what they are as for what great policies or acts their names happen to be associated with. The plain, simple-minded backwoodsman, Daniel Boone, occupies a large place in the history of this country, because he first pushed westward into the wilderness and established a home for our race beyond the Alleghenies, and learned lawyers and statesmen of that time who would have looked down with contempt upon the plain pioneer have been forgotten, while Boone is gratefully remembered by millions of Americans. James Monroe is peculiarly fortunate because his name is associated, first, with the great westward extension of our domain beyond the Mississippi, and secondly, with the enunciation of a great doctrine which must for all time dominate the Western Hemisphere. When President Jefferson saw the necessity of securing the mouth of the Mississippi, in order to prevent the western backwoodsmen from going down the river and forcibly taking possession and thus precipitating a war with France—Jefferson being of a conservative and somewhat timid nature—he attempted to divert this by purchasing from France the mouth of that river, and having confidence in the ability of Mr. Monroe, he sent him on a special mission to France for this purpose.

As Napoleon was about to declare war against Great Britain, and knowing that the British fleet had weakened the sea power of both France and Spain, and that it would be almost impossible to hold the mouth of the Mississippi river, he was in a frame of mind to treat favorably the proposition made by Mr. Monroe, and our minister to France, Mr. Livingston. Through their combined efforts, but more particularly through the efforts of Mr. Monroe, we were enabled to secure for a small sum not only the mouth of the Mississippi but the vast territory extending west to the Rocky Mountains; thus fixing the destiny of this country and making it for all time the dominant power in the Western Hemisphere.

After the crushing defeat of the French and Spanish navies by Nelson at Trafalgar, Great Britain was left mistress of the seas, which supremacy, however, was disputed in 1812 by the descendants of the sea rovers who had commenced to build a great empire in the Western Hemisphere. The Spanish colonies extending from Mexico to Cape Horn had succeeded in throwing off the Spanish yoke, but European powers, fearing the extension of republican institutions, formed what is known as the "Holy Alliance," with Russia at its head, and determined to aid Spain in reconquering her American possessions. At this juncture Mr. Canning, the British minister, proposed to the American minister at London that the two countries should stand together in resisting, if necessary, by force of arms, this interference by European powers in American affairs, and assured him that Great Britain would lend efficient aid to the United States, if necessary, in preventing this.

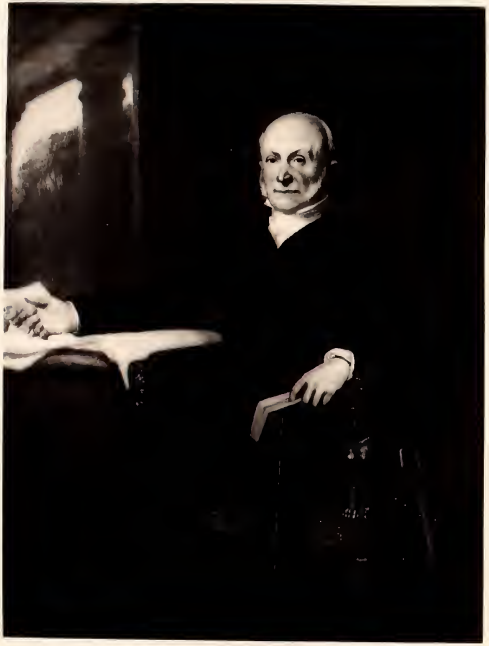
This proposition was forwarded by President Monroe to Mr. Jefferson at Monticello, who replied that this was the most important subject brought to his notice since the Declaration of Independence, and advised the President to accept the "proffered aid of England," and the celebrated Monroe Doctrine, which was promulgated by President Monroe in his message of December 2, 1823, was the result. This doctrine, which never had legislative sanction, has been accepted by the American people as a policy which must be enforced, if necessary, by a resort to arms, and has also been accepted by some of the foreign powers.

This doctrine was re-enunciated when Napoleon III attempted to put a foreign king upon the throne of Mexico, and the United States placed an army upon the Mexican border and notified Napoleon that the French troops must be withdrawn and the Mexicans must decide for themselves what form of government they desired. It was again re-enunciated recently in the Venezuela question, and the interpretation put upon it by this Government was accepted by England, the only great sea power having anything like an ability to dispute it.

A doctrine like this, which is accepted by the entire population of a great country, irrespective of party, is more potent than any mere legislative action, and for the enunciation of this great doctrine Monroe must for all times be honored as one of the great Americans.

The potency of this doctrine should be an inspiration to our rulers for future times, showing them that great ends may be achieved by the firm and fearless enunciation of great doctrines by the President of a great people independent of legislative action. It has a material bearing on the tremendous problems soon to be solved in the Far East.

John Fiske



J. Q. Adams

Adams

AMO[illegible] who have been honored by the [illegible] Magistrates of the Nation, few are so [illegible] day as John Quincy Adams. The [illegible] associate the names of Washington, [illegible] Grant when reviewing the great [illegible] history of our country. Yet [illegible] either as statesman, diplomat [illegible] Quincy Adams; none were [illegible] by so many administrations, [illegible] many exalted positions while [illegible] study of both American and [illegible] so many great questions [illegible] of our Nation. He [illegible]

Even as a [illegible] saw the burning of [illegible] Gulf Town. W[illegible] father, afterward President [illegible]

When one [illegible] Russia. After one [illegible] attention to [illegible] and afterw[illegible] ence, he was [illegible] young, he [illegible] which [illegible] very yo[illegible] own living [illegible] to his own [illegible] he [illegible] make the [illegible] man are we [illegible] this vast do[illegible] parallel. So [illegible] matic victory, [illegible] life, he won [illegible] the signature [illegible]

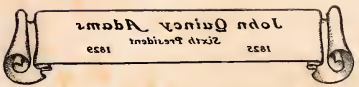
President M[illegible] as considered, [illegible] didates were [illegible] Crawford [illegible] Henry Clay [illegible] while [illegible] Clay was Spe[illegible] hoice [illegible] Mr. Clay ga[illegible]

[illegible] of M[illegible] was sel[illegible] of S[illegible] the Ho[illegible] and [illegible] which [illegible] ntment [illegible] ideration [illegible] Jack[illegible] greatest [illegible] the existence [illegible] ain between [illegible] ation rep[illegible] friends that [illegible] its work, [illegible] Adam[illegible] With [illegible] the assaulted [illegible] he stepped down [illegible] station [illegible] again to [illegible] active duties [illegible]

It might now [illegible] that [illegible] glo[illegible] much o[illegible] the b[illegible] and [illegible] nature [illegible] Adams [illegible] different wi[illegible] He believ[illegible] and, w[illegible] he [illegible] admirers [illegible] to him [illegible] and was a[illegible] ment from the [illegible] as though [illegible] first honor of his [illegible] To [illegible] which [illegible] seventeen years of [illegible] serv[illegible] of the House [illegible] tives, he was stricken with [illegible] his [illegible] duty, February [illegible] 1848.

Burger Hermann

John Quincy Adams
Sixth President
1825 1829



John Quincy Adams
Sixth President
1825 1829

Adams

MONG the long line of illustrious men, who have been honored by the American people as the Chief Magistrates of the Nation, few are so rarely mentioned at the present day as John Quincy Adams. The popular mind prefers rather to associate the names of Washington, Jefferson, Jackson, Lincoln and Grant when reviewing the great Presidents, whose life-works adorn the history of our country. Yet, when carefully and impartially studied, either as statesman, diplomat or scholar, none stand higher than John Quincy Adams; none were longer in active political life or recognized by so many administrations, and none were ever honored with so many exalted positions, while none had greater opportunities for the study of both American and European statecraft, or were closer students of or associated with so many great questions affecting the creation, the safety, the advancement or the honor and glory of our Nation. He was present at its birth.

Even as a child he heard the cannon booming on Bunker Hill, and saw the burning of Charlestown. When but eleven years of age he was taken by his distinguished father, afterward President himself, to Paris. Here he had the benefit of the elementary French schools.

When only fourteen years of age, he was removed to St. Petersburg, Russia. After one year's attention to these duties he determined to visit Stockholm, where he remained during one winter and afterward devoted many months in travel. At this time, and with all this varied experience, he was but sixteen years of age. With such an alluring and fascinating career in one so young, the disposition and power to undertake and overcome the difficulties, which confront every young man, who must later on earn his own livlihood, would seem to have been greatly, if not entirely, impaired. Not so, however, with young Adams. "I am determined to get my own living and to be dependent on no one," were his words. With this resolution he returned to his own land, and began his great political career.

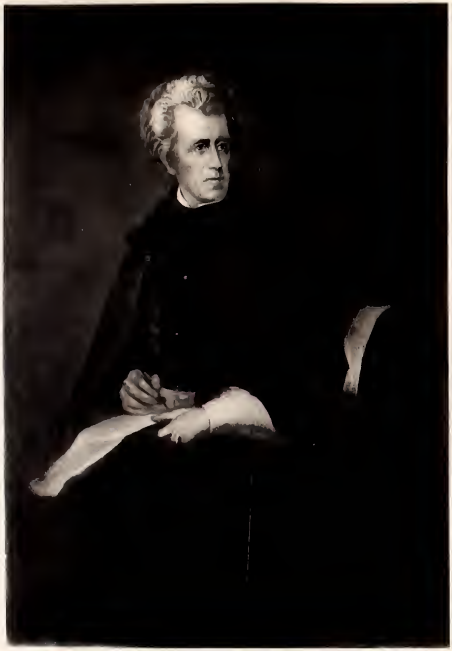
I make the claim now for John Quincy Adams, that to him more, perhaps, than to any other man are we indebted for the successful negotiations which in 1846 recognized the American title to this vast domain, once claimed by Spain, west of the Rocky Mountains and north of the 42d parallel. So impressed was Mr. Adams with the far-reaching importance of his great diplomatic victory, known as the Florida Treaty of 1819, that in the last days of his long and illustrious life, he would fondly revert to that great event, and in his memoirs he says: "I consider the signature of the treaty as the most important event in my life."

President Monroe's term coming to a close, the selection of a successor was considered. The candidates were General Jackson, John Q. Adams, John C. Calhoun, William H. Crawford and Henry Clay. Three of these eminent men were members of Monroe's Cabinet, while Henry Clay was Speaker of the House of Representatives. The vote in the electoral college resulted in no choice, and the House of Representatives was relied upon to decide the contest. Here Mr. Clay gave his support to Mr. Adams, and the latter was elected.

In view of Mr. Clay's support of Mr. Adams it was not a surprise to the country when the former was selected as Secretary of State. It gave rise, however, to the most slandrous charges. The aid of Mr. Clay in the House was considered as a corrupt and well-planned bargain, for which the cabinet appointment, which followed, was the consideration, with the further price of Adams's support of Clay for the Presidency at the next election. Jackson, who was the greatest loser by Clay's coalition with Adams, also openly charged the existence of a bargain between the two. So persistently and so plausibly was this accusation repeated by Jackson's friends that though demonstrated to be untrue, yet, it accomplished its work, and both Clay and Adams lost many adherents. With an air of supreme indifference to the assaults upon him, he stepped down from his lofty station and returned to private life, there again to enter into the active duties of a good citizen.

It might now be supposed that one who had reigned so long and so gloriously, and suffered so much of the criticism in the bitter partisan warfare of that time, and especially one of the proud nature of John Quincy Adams, would disdain to accept other and lesser honors. But it was different with him. He believed and invariably expressed himself that his duty was to his country, and, when called upon, he should serve in whatever capacity it might be. When, therefore, his admirers suggested to him a desire that he should represent his State in Congress he assented, and was accordingly elected as a member of the House of Representatives two years after his retirement from the Presidency, and he entered upon the trust as cheerfully as though it were the first honor of his life. To this position he was successively elected for terms which aggregated seventeen years of active service, and there in his seat, in the old hall of the House of Representatives, he was stricken with death at his post of duty, February 21, 1848.

Ginger Hermans



Andrew Jackson

Jackson

THERE are many things for which Jackson will be remembered by future generations. I should be inclined to say however, that his most distinguishing characteristics were an iron will and an abiding firmness. Andrew Jackson was a great man in more ways than one. Conspicuous as a statesman, with traits and genius for discovery of the faculties of our Republic.

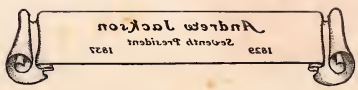
He will be remembered best as a statesman, but more as a warrior, but chiefly as a commander. Who are to be most honored, a successful people with the completion of the union of their Country, or one who has the greatest victory. But no victory impresses us the world, as the surrender of a country with those as a guidance and as President, a real genius appeared in the battle of New Orleans, there is no question but that this victory rendered by the cannon ball shot of the Brig Armstrong in the battle of Lake Erie the effect of stopping the British army and thus preventing reinforcements from being received. Nevertheless our country came to America engaged in the defence of New Orleans.

Of course, Jackson was a commercial statesman in the strictest sense. He distinguished himself greatly and in fact was in the main successful and he was able to contend against a highly educated class. He was a commercial statesman and was successfully defeated at New Orleans and was in the battle of Chalmette and was successful against a

As a statesman Jackson was a great man. He was a great statesman in the principles of agricultural and commercial interests of the country. Jackson showed himself to be a statesman by Washington and Jefferson and by the opinion expressed in his address to congress compared with statesmen and statesmanship. They will be recorded time and again in his Message which I will quote. "The commercial interest of our country are intimately connected with every other pursuit and are entitled to them all we can do consistently to invite to it your particular attention. It is especially incumbent upon us to endeavor to increase the value of our products and to extend their markets for the comfort and comforts of society, that have become necessary part of government." Jackson also says, "While the tariff should be adjusted with a view more than to discriminate in favor of manufactures." But to strictly adhere to the principles of right and justice.

President Jackson was strongly opposed to any system which might by any possibility tend to establish monopolies. It was understood that he gave utterance to the following words: "The ambition which leads men to the highest stations and most honorable of * * * persuade my countrymen, so far as I may, that it is not to a splendid government supported by powerful monopolies and aristocratic establishments that they should look for the protection of their liberties and for a happy country, but to the plain republican form of government, which, resting directly on the will of the people, and operating immediately through agents deriving their appointments from them and responsible to them alone, can confer no favors on any class at the expense of the great mass of their fellow citizens, and has no means of granting favors to none, dispensing its blessings like the dews of heaven, equally to all, save in the freshness and beauty they contribute to produce." Gen. Jackson also advocated great and undeniable truth: "It is said a government that incurs no debt is a phenomenon. Our debt is one only under which our States can annually be able to extinguish it and the

It is in view of such utterances as these that I say that Jackson's fame as a statesman will depend upon his utterances as a statesman, rather than his deeds as a warrior. Caution has been the admonition of the thoughtful and painstaking Monroe. Caution was the keynote of the policy upon this important question recommended by the painstaking and dauntless Jackson.



Andrew Jackson
Seventh President
1829 1837

Jackson

HERE are many things for which Jackson will be remembered by future generations. I should be inclined to say, however, that his most distinguished characteristics were an iron will and unyielding firmness. Andrew Jackson was a great man in very many ways, conspicuously so in upholding with truth and purity the doctrines of the founders of the Republic.

He will be remembered both as a statesman and as a warrior, but chiefly as a statesman. You see he was never in any great battle with the exception of the battle of New Orleans, which was his greatest victory. But the relative importance of his deeds on the battlefield as compared with those as a legislator and as President is not great. Speaking of the battle of New Orleans, there is no question but that the heroic conduct of the officers and men of the Brig Armstrong at the battle of Fayal, had the effect of retarding the British fleet, and thus preventing reinforcements from being sent to Packenham in time to crush the Americans engaged in the defense of New Orleans.

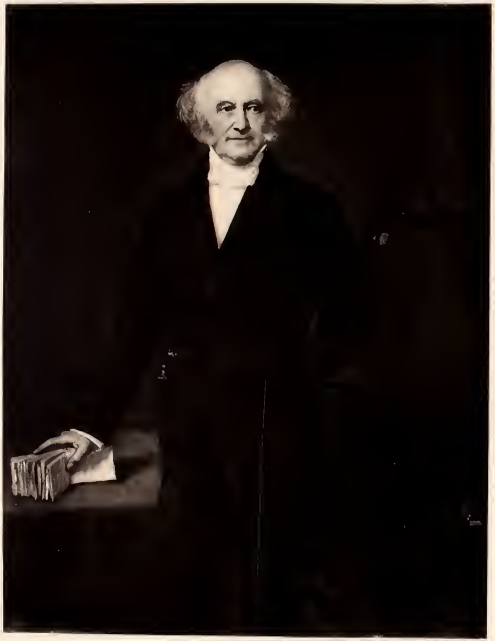
Of course, Jackson made some wonderful campaigns in the Indian wars. He distinguished himself greatly, but it was only in the fight with Packenham that he had to contend against a highly civilized race. You must remember that the same regiments which he defeated at New Orleans were afterwards in the battle of Waterloo with very different results.

As a statesman, the thing in which Jackson was pre-eminent was for upholding the agricultural and manufacturing interests of the country. Jackson shared the views entertained by Washington and Jefferson relative to the superior importance of our agricultural interests compared with commerce and manufactures. This will be evident from the part in this Message, which I will quote: "The agricultural interest of our country is so essentially connected with every other, and so superior in importance to them all, that it is scarcely necessary to invite to it your particular attention. It is principally as manufactures and commerce tend to increase the value of agricultural productions, and to extend their application to the wants and comforts of society, that they deserve the fostering care of government." Jackson also says: "While the chief object of duties should be revenue, they may be so adjusted as to encourage manufactures." But he strictly adheres to his demand for light taxes on necessities.

President Jackson was strenuously opposed to any system which might by any possibility tend to establish monopolies. It was upon this subject that he gave utterance to these memorable words: "The ambition which leads me on is an anxious desire and fixed determination to * * * persuade my countrymen, so far as I may, that it is not in a splendid government supported by powerful monopolies and aristocratical establishments that they will find happiness or the protection of their liberties; but in a plain system, void of pomp, protecting all and granting favors to none, dispensing its blessings like the dews of heaven, unseen and unfelt, save in the freshness and beauty they contribute to produce." Gen. Jackson also adds this great and undeniable truth: "It is such a government that the genius of our people requires—such a one only under which our States may remain for ages to come united, prosperous and free."

It is in view of such utterances as these that I say that Jackson's future place in history will depend upon his utterances as a statesman, rather than his deeds as a warrior. Caution has been the admonition of the thoughtful and painstaking Monroe, "caution" was the keynote of the policy upon this important question recommended by the impetuous and dauntless Jackson.

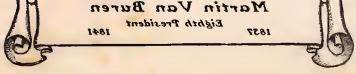
Joe Wheeler



M Van Buren

Van Buren

principle or political conviction.



Martin Van Buren
Eighth President
1837 1841

Van Buren

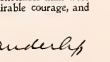
ITH the election of Van Buren came the first success of a politician. Jackson was not a statesman, and his election was largely the work of the politicians, but he was a strong character owing little of his political success to his skill in machine politics. With Van Buren's election came the triumph of political machinery; his elevation to that office was the final fruit of a lifetime of the shrewdest political maneuvering, the keenest knowledge of the methods of political combination, and of the theories of political rewards and proscriptions. His political life was one of steady and logical advancement, but he did not come forward from local to state prominence, and from state to national position, as an exponent and advocate of any great principle or political conviction. In his career as a lawyer of fair ability, a Senator of his State, a member of the United States Senate, as Governor of New York, as Prime Minister of Jackson's cabinet, as foreign envoy, and as Vice-President, he never once stood for great political principles. He was not inconsistent; he was silent. Always the clever courteous gentleman, always anxious to avoid controversy, and showing a remarkable genius for combinations, he built up a machine which moved forward to political prominence sometimes himself and sometimes others, but which he always held compactly together by the bonds of self-interest, by a system of political rewards for the friends of the machine, and political exclusion for its enemies.

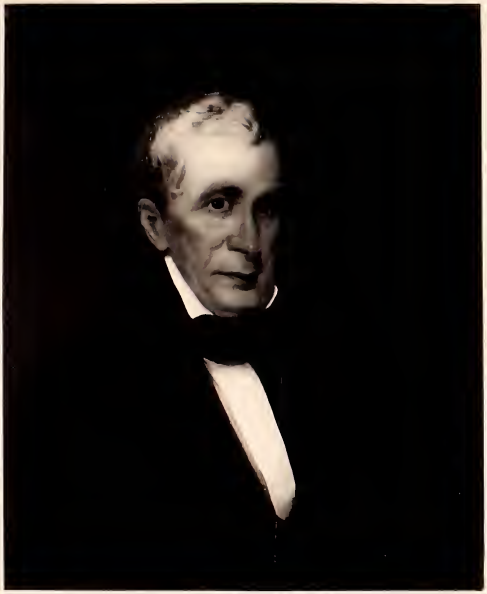
The strong friendship which Andrew Jackson held for his Secretary of State was one of the most important causes leading to Van Buren's election to succeed Jackson. There had been for several years a perfectly clear understanding between the two men that the younger was to be a political legatee, and the immense personal popularity of Jackson made the legacy of his good will a thing of the greatest importance. When there was added to that the strength of the perfect political machine of which Van Buren was the master, his nomination and his election were not difficult.

He drew great strength from the fact that Jackson's political mantle was looked upon as having been laid upon his shoulders. Even at the time of the inauguration, Jackson seemed the central figure rather than the new President, and the temper of the inaugural address was distinctly one of subordination to his more popular predecessor. Jackson's farewell address was taken up with a glorification of his financial views, and with a parting shot at the defunct national bank. Hardly had the people ceased reading that farewell message in which there was no comprehension of the trouble that was to come, than a financial crash, such as the country had never known, broke with tremendous fury, and the new President was brought face to face with the most trying of situations. The tremendous speculative bubble, which had been inflating for years, burst in a moment. The situation was made vastly more severe by some of the features of Jackson's empirical system of finance, and the blame for it all came down upon the head of Jackson's successor. He now rose to a height that had not at all been measured by anything in his previous career. He faced an angry and excited nation with calmness and dignity. He would not be driven into hasty and unadvised action for the relief of a situation that had become distressing in the extreme. He carried this calmness in the midst of the terrific uproar that came about his head to a degree that left doubt as to whether he could show anything more than the phlegmatic characteristics of his Dutch ancestors, refusing for a time even to call any extra session of Congress to consider means of relief. He did finally convene Congress and presented his scheme of completely divorcing government finances from the banks, the scheme which subsequently developed into the present sub-treasury system. It was not original with the President, but had been proposed by a Virginia representative, and rejected by a decisive vote of the President's party in the House as early as 1834. It was again rejected after being brought forward in Mr. Van Buren's message to Congress, but at the next session was passed in practically the same form as was at first proposed and endures to the present time.

Upon this single act must rest Van Buren's claims to a statesmanship which originates great public measures. He accomplished what he undoubtedly believed to be a most important financial step—the divorcing of government finance from the banks. Had he been a wiser statesman, had he possessed a more comprehensive knowledge of practical finance, he would have found a way for securing the safety at which he aimed, with vastly less hardship upon the commercial interests than this plan of locking up all government funds in idleness.

His introduction of the spoils system into politics has been none too severely condemned, but his use of the public patronage after he became President was less objectionable than were the actions of some of his contemporaries. At all times he showed admirable courage, and great political sagacity.





W. H. Harrison

Harrison

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON as President was a distinctive character. In personality he probably never had, and it is doubtful if he ever will have an imitator or an equal. The country looked upon him at the time not alone as a great pioneer and warrior, but as a great and good man, who came very close to the people. The people elected him for the highest office within their gift, not only on account of that which he had accomplished in blazing the way for civilization and taming the savages in the Central West, or because he had assisted in repelling British intrusion, but because they regarded him as the personification of [illegible] the material for a great statesman. [illegible] history and it is a common expression [illegible] that "William Henry Harrison [illegible] office-seekers." A man who would place himself so near the people as to [illegible] to send him to an untimely grave must have had in a very marked degree [illegible] kindness, and a [illegible] admiration.

It was [illegible] characteristic [illegible] William Henry Harrison notable.

Probably no man [illegible] the Executive Mansion whose name was so universally [illegible] George Washington. The children who [illegible] William Henry Harrison [illegible] would make a [illegible] conducted [illegible] Senate, or to fill all of [illegible] today.

I find [illegible] William Henry Harrison [illegible] inaugural [illegible] May [illegible], 1841. [illegible] manifests [illegible] to declare [illegible] with this [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

As a warrior [illegible] William Henry Harrison [illegible] upon the scroll of fame with [illegible] a trained soldier and tactician upon [illegible] whose [illegible] he possessed.

As a [illegible] William Henry Harrison will always be remembered. No one who has achieved the high office [illegible] ever have a greater degree of [illegible] or affection of the people. [illegible] expectations of the country were so rudely dashed [illegible] realized [illegible] administration.

At the time of the Harrison [illegible] political [illegible] into general use in this country. [illegible] William Henry Harrison [illegible] retired [illegible] at North Bend, Ohio, [illegible] Cincinnati and the [illegible] the farm [illegible] represented [illegible] The Cincinnatus of the West [illegible] and this epithet [illegible].

He was living on the [illegible] at North Bend and devoting himself to agriculture with the same [illegible] War and in State. Here he [illegible] to become a candidate for the Presidency of the United States. He had married a daughter of John Cleves Symmes, the founder of Cincinnati, Ohio. He was [illegible] with the Western pioneers, among whom he had lived so long.

His term [illegible] days, and his death was felt as a severe blow by his party [illegible] Notwithstanding [illegible] William Henry Harrison is likely to be remembered as the [illegible] Kenton and Boone. His services to the great [illegible] which has since been divided into the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Michigan, will cause him to be affectionately remembered by thousands who [illegible].

William Henry Harrison

Ninth President

1841 1841

Harrison

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON as President was a distinctive character. In personality he probably never had, and it is doubtful if he ever will have, an imitator or an equal. The country looked upon him at the time not alone as a great pioneer and warrior, but as a great and good man, who came very close to the people. The people selected him for the highest office within their gift, not only on account of that which he had accomplished in blazing the way to civilization and taming the savages in the Central West, or because he had assisted in repelling British intrusion, but because they regarded him as the personification of honor and as possessing the material for a great statesman. It has often been recorded in history and it is a common expression to-day that "William Henry Harrison was killed by office-seekers." A man who would place himself so near the people as to permit office-seekers to send him to an untimely grave must have had in a very marked degree the milk of human kindness, and a fountain of gratitude and personal affection, which should win admiration.

It was the elevation of such a man to the Presidential chair, after a campaign so characteristic as to leave its imprint upon time, that made the administration of William Henry Harrison notable.

Probably no man has ever occupied the Executive Mansion whose name was so universally perpetuated by namesakes, with the possible exception of George Washington. The children who were named after William Henry Harrison, if they could be lined up to-day, would make an army almost sufficent to have conducted successfully the war against Spain, or to fill all of the Federal offices of the country to-day.

I find that the state papers of President William Henry Harrison are confined to his inaugural address and a proclamation convening Congress to meet in extraordinary session on May 31, 1841. On the fourth of the following April he died. In his inaugural address he manifests an intense desire to conscientiously fulfill the duties of his high office. He proceeds to declare his intention of fulfilling all the pledges he had made and concludes his address with this somewhat pathetic sentence:

"Fellow citizens, being fully vested with that high office to which the partiality of my countrymen has called me, I now take an affectionate leave of you."

The above utterance seemed to be prophetic, in that it was his leave-taking, for he never again appeared in public.

As a warrior among Indians, William Henry Harrison has been placed upon the scroll of fame with Daniel Boone and Kenton. As an army officer, a trained soldier and tactician upon the field history places him with Washington, whose unlimited confidence he possessed.

As a patriot, William Henry Harrison will always be remembered. No one who has achieved the high office he held will probably ever have a greater degree of confidence or affection of the people. It is lamentable that the expectations of the country were so rudely dashed by his untimely death, as much was expected of, and no doubt much would have been realized by his administration.

At the time of the Harrison-Van Buren campaign political cartoons were just coming into general use in this country. Gen. William Henry Harrison, who had some time before retired to private life, was then living upon his farm at North Bend, Ohio, between Cincinnati and the Indiana line. In one of these campaign hand bills are pictures of various scenes upon the farm including the Log Cabin and the famous Cider Press, while the General himself is represented in his shirt sleeves, ploughing. He was called "The Cincinnatus of the West," and this epithet proved of advantage in the campaign.

He was living in the famous cabin at North Bend, and devoting himself to agriculture with the same energy and enthusiasm which he had displayed in the affairs of War and of State. Here he remained until called upon by his friends to become a candidate for the Presidency of the United States. He had married a daughter of John Cleves Symmes, the founder of Cincinnati, Ohio. He was in sympathy wholly with the Western pioneers, among whom he had lived so long.

His term as President lasted but thirty days, and his death was felt as a severe blow by his party, which had formed high expectations of his capacity in executive matters. Notwithstanding his notable career as a General and statesman, William Henry Harrison is likely to be remembered as the highest type of the pioneers, who succeeded the frontiersmen Kenton and Boone. His service to the great empire, which has since been divided into the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Michigan, will cause him to be affectionately remembered by thousands who barely know the names of other Presidents.

Perry S. Heath

John Tyler

Tyler

NO PRESIDENT of the Republic has [illegible] more than John Tyler [illegible] in Virginia, [illegible] imperially [illegible] He [illegible] Republic [illegible] Virginia [illegible] the Civil War [illegible] between the slaveholding [illegible]

followed the lead of John C. Calhoun [illegible] of the Democratic party [illegible] and he soon became a power [illegible] was such that he was put [illegible] in 1840 [illegible] "Tippecanoe and Tyler [illegible] American politics. This campaign [illegible] Whigs, the "National Republicans" and the "[illegible] North and the South.

Tyler was expected [illegible] the Constitution [illegible] President. Instead [illegible]

In one month [illegible] President. [illegible] District of Mr. [illegible] 1840 [illegible] Harrison [illegible] Tyler [illegible] that party.

Wasting [illegible] party [illegible] causes and [illegible]

In all [illegible] law, admitting [illegible] tariff law [illegible] 1842 [illegible] expiration of this [illegible] the Democratic [illegible] which [illegible] right and [illegible] Northeastern [illegible] satisfactorily [illegible]

President [illegible] to have delighted [illegible] is admitted that [illegible] party [illegible] disgraced the [illegible]

It is now [illegible] recently adopted under [illegible] Mr. Van Buren [illegible] and people than [illegible] indeed, sets all [illegible] may now, with some [illegible] his treason to party [illegible] this country.

When the [illegible] began in 1861, he [illegible] delegate [illegible] to a "Peace Convention" [illegible] vain hope of [illegible] he [illegible] had already seen in [illegible] youth, but it was too [illegible]

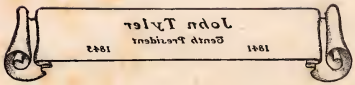
He returned [illegible] his mission to join the fortunes of [illegible] being hurried on [illegible] leaf [illegible] more fruitless still.

John Tyler was [illegible] without [illegible] he was better than many [illegible] name.

He disregarded [illegible] of his party [illegible] and no man can [illegible] this [illegible] justified he may be in the eyes of God or of sensible [illegible] corrupt his party, the more swift and [illegible] his [illegible]

J. P. [illegible]

John Tyler
Tenth President
1841 1845



John Tyler
Tenth President
1841 1845

Tyler

NO PRESIDENT of the Republic has created greater extremes of opinion respecting his merits than John Tyler; and perhaps another generation must pass before his administration can be justly or impartially weighed. He came of an old English family, which settled in Virginia, in the early days of that colony, and he was the fifth John Tyler in the line of descent in his section of the State. Some have traced the family origin to Watt Tyler, the celebrated English agitator, who became famous by his rebellion near the close of the 14th Century. John Tyler seems to have foreseen even in his early manhood the inevitable clash to come between the slaveholding and non-slaveholding States. As a pro-slavery man he accepted and followed the lead of John C. Calhoun in the nullification branch of the Democratic party; and he soon became a power to be reckoned with in the politics of the country. His prominence was such that he was put on the ticket with General W. H. Harrison in 1840, when the "Tippecanoe and Tyler" campaign developed into one of the most exciting episodes of American politics. This campaign produced a singular combination, the Whigs, the "National Republicans" and the "Democratic Republicans," uniting on a ticket incongruous in its candidates, but claimed with frantic enthusiasm, to represent the cherished views of both the North and the South.

Tyler was expected to uphold and conserve the tenets of the State-rights party, and to see that the Constitution was strictly construed in all matters affecting the institution of slavery.

In one month after the inauguration, General Harrison died, and Tyler became President. Instead of reorganizing the Cabinet on lines of his own, he adopted the policy of retaining the existing Cabinet, although many, and possibly all, of them felt more or less distrust of Mr. Tyler's fidelity to the platform on which the party had come into power. The truth is, that the combination ticket of Harrison and Tyler was the usual party trick, intended to unite discordant elements, and having the sole object of obtaining votes enough to insure success. Slavery agitation had already then become exciting if not violent. Harrison was recognized as an anti-slavery man, while Tyler was notoriously allied in sentiment with the extreme section of the pro-slavery party of the South. His nomination, therefore, in 1840, on the Whig ticket, was to reap the fruits of disaffection in the Democratic party rather than to make sure of fealty to Whig principles or to reward Mr. Tyler for any services rendered to that party.

When Tyler vetoed the National Bank Bill in 1841, his party abandoned him with curses and maledictions accompanied with unpardonable vehemence and violence.

In all other respects his administration proved to be eminently successful. A bankruptcy law, admittedly necessary to relieve the failures following the panic of 1837, was passed, and a tariff law looking to both revenue and protection was approved in 1842. Just before the expiration of his term in 1845, Texas was admitted into the Union with the mutual consent of the parties in interest, and on the true principles of peaceable and healthful expansion, under which the inhabitants of the new territory became at once clothed with every constitutional right, and the State itself took its place as an equal member of the federal union. The Northeastern boundary question which had long threatened the public peace was honorably and satisfactorily settled during his administration.

President Tyler's critics of that day aspersed his name with immoderate abuse and seem to have delighted in calumniating his character, but in the clearer light of subsequent history, it is admitted that much of this detraction may be fairly attributed to the smarting anguish of party disappointments, stimulated and aggravated by the fierce and unreasonable passions which disgraced the politics of that period.

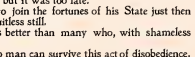
It is now perfectly clear that the advantages of the independent treasury system, then recently adopted under the administration of Mr. Van Buren, are far better for both government and people than any benefits to be derived from the fiscal agencies of a national bank. Time, indeed, sets all things even. And Tyler's friends may now, with some justification, claim that his treason to party proved to be a blessing to his country.

When the great war of the Rebellion began in 1861, he came as a delegate from Virginia to a "Peace Convention" at Washington, with the vain hope of averting the horrors which he had already seen in the prophetic visions of his youth, but it was too late.

He returned home from his fruitless mission to join the fortunes of his State just then being hurried on with frantic zeal into a war more fruitless still.

John Tyler was not without faults, but he was better than many who, with shameless contumely, have aspersed his name.

He disregarded the behests of his party; and no man can survive this act of disobedience, however justified he may be in the eyes of God or of sensible men. The more ignorant or corrupt his party, the more swift and certain is his ruin.



Polk

JAMES K. POLK will be remembered for [illegible] he did not fight as much as for the war he made against [illegible]. The prominent issues presented [illegible] famous Presidential [illegible] between Polk and Clay were the [illegible] and Oregon [illegible]. Clay, who had always been a [illegible] man, [illegible] positive in the campaign. [illegible] was in favor of the [illegible] Texas, provided it could be [illegible] with Mexico, but [illegible] a majority of his party [illegible]. On [illegible] hand Polk was strongly in [illegible] annexation of Texas and of the acquisition [illegible] up to 54 40 [illegible] latitude, and was in [illegible] necessary to accomplish these results. It will be remembered that [illegible] was "Fifty-four Forty or Fight." The result of such a campa[illegible] Polk and only 105 for Clay.

Polk in his inaugural addre[illegible] Congress in relation to Texas, providing for the introdu[illegible] Union as a separate State, and strongly asserted the [illegible] of Oregon, regardless of the claim of Great Britain, [illegible] if [illegible] Texas was promptly admi[illegible] relations between this R[illegible] never recognized the independen[illegible] to her dominion. The M[illegible] in W[illegible] the status of Texas [illegible] United States [illegible] Mexico to Oregon west [illegible] Jefferson, was take[illegible]

Thus w[illegible] territory in [illegible] promises [illegible] with referen[illegible] Presidency, [illegible] surrendered [illegible] Oregon north [illegible]

If the po[illegible] South and S[illegible] met overwhel[illegible]

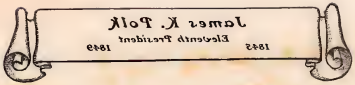
So Pres[illegible] great and val[illegible] remembered m[illegible] or rather fight [illegible]

Even at t[illegible] Mr. Polk as a man who [illegible] afterward pushing [illegible] generations will [illegible] territory between the [illegible]

Polk will also [illegible] Democrat. In his [illegible] plain; in his dealings [illegible] In his convictions he was strong and preferred rather [illegible] curry popular [illegible] a trimmer. He stood for a strict [illegible] held that great compact to the utmost reverence. He was [illegible] and his career resembles that of the great Democrat in many [illegible] parentage, he [illegible] from obscurity to the highest sta[illegible] people. Like Jackson he [illegible] unalterably opposed to the Na[illegible] of his day were trying to [illegible] on the American people. As [illegible] Means Committee of the House, and later as Speaker of the same body [illegible] State of Tennessee, he [illegible] calls for little adverse comment, and [illegible]

However historians [illegible] differ about his [illegible] President with reference to the tw[illegible] for solution no man [illegible] that Polk believed he was right [illegible] and ever and anon the immortal words of the great Kentuckian, whom Polk [illegible] for the Presidency, will [illegible] the impartial student of history, "I would rather be right than be President."

Marion Butler



James K. Polk
Eleventh President
1845 1849

Polk

JAMES K. POLK will be remembered for the war that he did not fight as much as for the war he made against Mexico. The prominent issues presented in the famous Presidential campaign between Polk and Clay were the Texas and Oregon questions. Clay, who had always been a compromise man, occupied a compromise position in the campaign. He was in favor of the acquisition of Texas, provided it could be done without a war with Mexico, but probably a majority of his party did not go even that far. On the other hand Polk was strongly in favor of the immediate annexation of Texas and of the acquisition of the whole of Oregon up to 54° 40' north latitude, and was in favor of war in both cases, if necessary to accomplish these results. It will be remembered that one of the campaign slogans was "Fifty-four Forty or Fight." The result of such a campaign was 170 electoral votes for Polk and only 105 for Clay.

Polk in his inaugural address commended the late action of Congress in relation to Texas, providing for the introduction of the Republic into the Federal Union as a separate State, and strongly asserted the title of the United States to the whole of Oregon, regardless of the claim of Great Britain, and intimated his intention to maintain it by force if necessary. Texas was promptly admitted into the Union, which resulted in the breaking off of diplomatic relations between this Republic and the Republic of Mexico. Mexico having never recognized the independence of Texas, and still claiming that territory as belonging to her dominion. The Mexican War followed, which was prosecuted not only to defend and maintain the status of Texas, but even to a war of conquest. The war was pushed until the flag of the United States floated over the Mexican capital, and the immense territory from New Mexico to Oregon west of the Mississippi river, excluding the Louisiana purchase acquired by Jefferson, was taken as a war indemnity by the peace of Guadaloupe Hidalgo.

Thus while Polk, as a result of the war, was acquiring most valuable and important territory in the South and Southwest, and in this respect going even further than his campaign promises and pledges, yet he was pursuing an entirely different, just the opposite course in fact, with reference to the other important question of the memorable campaign which won him the Presidency, with reference to Oregon and the Northwest. President Polk unfortunately surrendered and compromised away the rights and contention of the United States. All of Oregon north of the forty-ninth degree of north latitude was quietly and peaceably surrendered.

If the public had not had its attention so sharply drawn to the great acquisitions in the South and Southwest, as a result of the Mexican War, Polk and his administration would have met overwhelming condemnation for the surrender of the Northwest.

So President Polk will be remembered not only for the war that he did fight and the great and valuable territory acquired as a result of it, but will each year, as time goes on, be remembered more and more for the war that he did not fight and the territory he did not acquire, or rather fight to hold.

Even at this day it is hard to tell whether or not future generations will fully justify Mr. Polk as a man who did the true, wise, and great thing in perpetrating the war with Mexico and afterward pushing it to a war of conquest. At the same time it seems clear that future generations will blame Mr. Polk more and more for his needless surrender of the Oregon territory between the forty-ninth degree and fifty-four forty.

Polk will also be remembered as a Jeffersonian Democrat. In his mode of life he was plain; in his dealings and speech, straightforward and honest. In his convictions he was strong and preferred rather to stand for the right as he saw it than to curry popular favor as a trimmer. He stood for a strict construction of the Constitution and held that great compact in the utmost reverence. He was a friend and follower of Jackson, and his career resembles that of the great Democrat in many ways. An honest man and of humble parentage, he arose from obscurity to the highest station in the gift of the American people. Like Jackson he stood unalterably opposed to the National Bank which monopolists of his day were trying to fasten on the American people. As chairman of the Ways and Means Committee of the House, and later as Speaker of the same body, and as Governor of the State of Tennessee, his course calls for little adverse comment, and for general commendation.

However historians and posterity may differ about his course as President with reference to the two great questions before him for solution, no man will question that Polk believed he was right in the course that he pursued, and ever and anon the immortal words of the great Kentuckian, whom Polk defeated for the Presidency, will recur to the impartial student of history: "I would rather be right than be President."

Marion Butler

Zachary Taylor

Taylor

DURING Zachary Taylor's brief incumbency [illegible] President, [illegible] he was a tower of strength [illegible] the Union [illegible] all the ambitious [illegible] In [illegible] new [illegible] that [illegible] slavery be left to them [illegible] opposition in Congress [illegible] public mind during almost the entire [illegible] control. [illegible] invading the island of Cuba [illegible] proclamation [illegible] against engaging in such [illegible] obligations, and calling [illegible] civil or military, to [illegible] efforts in his power to a[illegible] the laws providing for the perform[illegible]

His term of off[illegible] one general character [illegible] administrator. H[illegible] virile English, and [illegible]

In the [illegible] wisdom of [illegible] from the [illegible] canal, either Ni[illegible] Panama. His views on that subj[illegible] He said [illegible] in his message to [illegible] with all great mari[illegible] Nicaragua [illegible] protectio[illegible] wel[illegible] to or from our territories [illegible] take money from the p[illegible] to the capitalists who [illegible] commencing in the sou[illegible] New Granada. It gives no preference [illegible] protection for all which inge[illegible]

The Clayton-Bulwer [illegible] and object.

President T[illegible] Pacific coast. At his di[illegible] making the preliminary surveys. Equally broad-minded [illegible] in reference to the Hawaiian Islands. He declared that no [illegible] control of them. He pointed out their usefulness to our [illegible] whaling in the Pacific. Self-interest as well as humanity [illegible] people and government of the United States should extend [illegible] Hawaiian people to improve their government and raise themselves [illegible]

In domestic affairs President Taylor was equally zealous in the line of progress and development. He urged [illegible] agricultural department by the Government to foster and advance what [illegible] was the greatest industry of this country. He also started the geological sur[illegible] and other Western States, which have been of such incalculable value in de[illegible] resources.

Known as a soldier as "Old Rough and Ready," he carried these qualities of fearlessness and decision into executive af[illegible] What he might have accomplished had Providence not cut short his career so early in his Administration, can be imagined from the vigorous governmental policy which he began.

Zachary Taylor

Twelfth President

1849 1850

Taylor

DURING Zachary Taylor's brief incumbency of the great office of President, for which he never thought himself well qualified, he was a tower of strength to the Union and blocked all the ambitious projects of the slave power. In considering the admission of new States to the Union, he recommended that they be admitted on their merits, and that the question of slavery be left to them for settlement. This position provoked much opposition in Congress and became the subject that agitated the public mind during almost the entire time that he was in executive control. Having information as to the fitting out of an armed expedition with the intention of evidently invading the island of Cuba, on August 11, 1849, he issued a proclamation of warning against engaging in such an enterprise so grossly in violation of our laws and our treaty obligations, and calling upon every officer of the Government, civil or military, to use all efforts in his power to arrest for trial and punishment every such offender against the laws providing for the performance of our sacred obligations to friendly powers.

His term of office was too short, and the questions that came before him too much of one general character to enable us to form an adequate opinion of his abilities as a civil administrator. He was open and direct in his methods; his state papers are models of pure and virile English, and the honesty of his purpose is beyond cavil.

In the single year of his administration he advocated some great improvements, the wisdom of which is only beginning to be fully appreciated. One of these measures was a canal from the Atlantic to the Pacific. He worked earnestly to secure a location for such a canal, either Nicaragua or by way of Tehuantepec or across the Isthmus of Panama. His views on that subject, in stating the objects of that treaty, are well worth quoting at the present time. He said: "This treaty has been negotiated in accordance with the general views expressed in my message to Congress in December last. Its object is to establish a commercial alliance with all great maritime states for the protection of a contemplated ship canal through the territory of Nicaragua to connect the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, and at the same time to insure the same protection to the contemplated railways or canals by the Tehuantepec and Panama routes, as well as to every other interoceanic communication which may be adopted to shorten the transit to or from our territories on the Pacific. It will be seen that this treaty does not propose to take money from the public Treasury to effect any object contemplated by it. It yields protection to the capitalists who may undertake to construct any canal or railway across the Isthmus, commencing in the southern part of Mexico and terminating in the territory of New Granada. It gives no preference to any one route over another, but proposes the same measure of protection for all which ingenuity and enterprise can construct."

The Clayton-Bulwer treaty, concluded in his administration, had this for its purpose and object.

President Taylor also saw the necessity of a transcontinental railroad to the Pacific coast. At his direction the first steps were taken for making the preliminary surveys. Equally broad-minded and far-seeing was President Taylor in reference to the Hawaiian Islands. He declared that no foreign power should be allowed to get control of them. He pointed out their usefulness to our vessels engaged in commerce and whaling in the Pacific. Self-interest as well as humanity, he declared, directed that the people and government of the United States should extend every encouragement to the Hawaiian people to improve their government and raise themselves to a higher plane of civilization.

In domestic affairs President Taylor was equally zealous in the line of progress and development. He urged the establishment of an agricultural department by the Government to foster and advance what he considered was the greatest industry of this country. He also started the geological surveys in California and other Western States, which have been of such incalculable value in developing their mineral resources.

Known as a soldier as "Old Rough and Ready," he carried those qualities of fearlessness and decision into executive affairs and diplomacy. What he might have accomplished had Providence not cut short his career so early in his Administration, can be imagined from the vigorous governmental policy which he began.

Millard Fillmore

Fillmore

THE Republic has not had a President who was more typical of American life than Millard Fillmore. His parents were Nathaniel Fillmore and Phoebe Millard, who were married in their native Vermont and moved into the wilds of Cayuga county, New York, in 1799. Millard was born at the town of Summer Hill, January 7, 1800, and was the eldest of nine children. This section of New York was a wilderness, the nearest house to the Fillmores' being four miles away. The family was poor, but the family had a decent title and for years had many acres cleared from their home. Fillmore, from his early childhood, showed a deep love of learning, and was always found reading or studying when other boys of his age were at play. But owing to the meagre resources of his father, Millard became an apprentice to a carder and cloth finisher in Sparta, when he was fifteen years old, in order to aid in the support of the household. All his leisure was spent in study. Books were scarce in those days, and school advantages out of reach. But the poor boy had a mind within him which soared above all obstacles. Having mastered his trade, instead of the position of a mere workman, he decided to study law. His employer, after hearing his decision, told him a course which the latter regarded as foolish, but Fillmore persisted in his resolve and in time became one of the most noted lawyers of the State. He was always a prepossessing youth, and became a model man, a lover of peace and quietness, and the speaker of truth.

The Fillmore family removed to Buffalo in 1820, and Millard was admitted to practice at the bar in 1823, and soon after commenced the regular term of courts. He went to Aurora to begin his law practice, and by close application to study and to the duties that he had to perform he soon had many clients to his door. His income increased, and of any work that presented. But such pecuniary and professional success was not to be the portion of Abigail, the daughter of the Rev. [illegible]

In 1829 he was elected to the legislature. There, as opposing the Democratic majority in that body, he was the most prominent. Names and made a record for sterling worth and high principle. He became known as the "Young man from Erie," but he sought rather to [illegible] than to [illegible]. He sought more of right action than of party expediency. When he was [illegible] to work back to his [illegible] practice. He had learned "the ropes" at Albany, and was a [illegible] and [illegible] in [illegible]. He was, consequently, [illegible] and was elected to the Comptroller's office.

This was during a period of peace, for Fillmore took a right view of it. He thought it proper to [illegible] from some of the laws, and he was opposed to have the imprisonment of debtors except [illegible]. He [illegible] the Senate with men who had committed [illegible] and [illegible] Thurlow Weed and Francis Granger supported Fillmore in his measures, but he stood, and despite the fiercest opposition the [illegible] was wiped from the statute books.

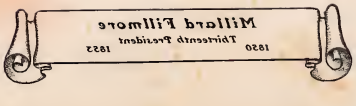
Fillmore brought into political [illegible] a character that was in truth and genuineness. His mind was too simple, and his honesty too rugged as a [illegible] to profit by any of the chicaneries of politics which [illegible] as prevalent in his day and generation.

In 1832 he was sent to Congress by the anti-masonic [illegible] who [illegible] as well in the legislature. He was decidedly avowed his opposition to slavery, favored the right of petition for the abolition of the slave trade, and advocated the doing away with slavery in the District of Columbia. In the twenty-second Congress he was chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, and was the first man to propose a banking system, based on the bonds of the Government. He was unalterably opposed to the United States Bank, and believed that its charter should be repealed.

With these principles well known to the people of the country, he became Vice-President with General Taylor, and at the death of the latter, entered on his duties as President of the United States.

Like other Presidents who succeeded him, he upheld the Fugitive Slave Law though himself opposed to slavery. He felt it his duty to accept the construction put upon the Constitution by the Supreme Court, and saw no immediate prospect of that instrument being modified to meet his views. The public interests were uppermost in the Administration, and at its end there was a feeling of [illegible] in the people. The country was more happy or prosperous. Not a note of discord broke the tranquility of [illegible] Office, and when he retired [illegible] from public life to a very [illegible] he was friendly to re-election to the Presidency.

John Quincy Adams has left on record his estimate of Fillmore, as one of the ablest, most faithful and fairest-minded men with whom he had [illegible] in public life.



Millard Fillmore

Thirteenth President

1850 *1853*

Fillmore

HE Republic has not had a President who was a more typical American than Millard Fillmore. His parents were Nathaniel F. Fillmore and Phoebe Millard, who were married in their native Vermont and moved into the wilds of Cayuga county, New York, in 1799. Millard was born at the town of Summer Hill, January 7, 1800, and was the eldest of nine children. That section of New York was a wilderness, the nearest house to the Fillmores' being four miles away. The lands acquired by the family had a defective title and a few years later they were driven from their home. Millard, from his early boyhood, showed a deep love of learning, and was always found reading or studying when other boys of his age were at play. But owing to the meagre resources of his father, Millard became an apprentice to a carder and cloth finisher in Sparta, when he was 15 years old, in order to aid in the support of the household. All his leisure was spent in study. Books were scarce in those days, and school advantages out of reach. But the poor lad had a spirit within him which soared above all obstacles. Having mastered his trade and attained to the position of a master workman, he decided to study law. His employer tried to dissuade him from a course which the latter regarded as foolish, but Fillmore carried out his intention and in time became one of the most noted lawyers of the State. As a boy he was above reproach, and he became a model man, a lover of peace and concord, the soul of honor, and the speaker of truth.

The Fillmore family moved to Buffalo in 1820, and Millard was admitted to practice at the bar in 1823, though he had not performed the regular term of study. He went to Aurora to begin his law practice, and was put to many shifts to earn a livelihood until his shingle should draw clients to his door. He taught school and did any work that presented. But such persistence and ability were sure to win, and in three years he was able to marry Abigail, the daughter of the Rev. Lemuel Powers, of Erie county.

In 1829 he was elected to the legislature. Fearlessly opposing the Democratic majority in that body, he ran counter to their most cherished schemes and made a record for sterling worth and high principle. He became known as the "Young member from Erie," but he sought rather to conciliate than to stir up strife. He thought more of right action than of party expediency. When his term was ended he went back to his law practice. He had learned "the ropes" at Albany, but his constituents believed him capable of doing much more. He was, consequently, re-elected, and was placed on the "Committee of Public Defense."

This was supposed to be a sinecure in time of peace, but Fillmore took another view of it. He thought the people wanted defending from some of the laws, and he set to work to have the imprisonment of debtors made illegal. This law had filled the jails of the State with men who had committed no other offense than that of being unable to pay their debts. Thurlow Weed and Francis Granger supported Fillmore in his movement for its repeal, and despite the fiercest opposition the barbarous provision of imprisonment for debt was wiped from the statute books.

Fillmore brought into his political career an unfaltering trust in truth and goodness. His mind was too simple, and his honesty too rugged to permit him to profit by any of the chicanery of politics which was as prevalent in his day as it is now.

In 1832 he was sent to Congress by the same constituents whom he had served so well in the legislature. There he frankly avowed his opposition to slavery, favored the right of petition for the abolition of the slave trade, and advocated the doing away with slavery in the District of Columbia. In the twenty-seventh Congress he was chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, and was the first man to propose a banking system, based on the bonds of the Government. He was unalterably opposed to the United States Bank, and believed that its charter should be repealed.

With these principles well known to the people of the country, he became Vice-President with General Taylor, and at the death of the latter, entered on his duties as President of the United States.

Like other Presidents who succeeded him, he upheld the Fugitive Slave Law though himself opposed to slavery. He felt it his duty to accept the construction put upon the Constitution by the Supreme Court, and saw no immediate prospect of that instrument being modified to meet his views. The public interests were subserved by his Administration, and at its end there was a feeling of harmony among the people. The country was never more happy or prosperous. Not a note of discord broke the tranquility of Fillmore's term of office, and when he retired definitely from public life he was twice brought forward by his friends for re-election to the Presidency.

John Quincy Adams has left on record as his opinion that Fillmore was "one of the ablest, most faithful and fairest-minded men with whom he had ever served in public life."

W. F. Aldrich

Franklin Pierce

Pierce

FROM the birth of Franklin Pierce on the 23d of November, 1804, to his election as President in November, 1852, a full generation of American history was recorded, from which has been developed another half century of growth in unforeseen movements—the natural and logical result of our institutions of government, and of the genius of free citizens. Mr. Pierce's Administration marked a turning point in the National progress. In the main, the discussion of the sovereignty of the several States was the engrossing political topic of the period preceding his Administration of the Presidency. That discussion had two months. The sovereign rights of the States brought the Southern States into open, independent States to defend the rights of the people, relying for their rights on the Constitution, and the Northern States into battle array, to sustain the principles sound in the Declaration of Independence.

There was congruity in the principles, doctrines, and theories of the Declaration of Independence won the battle.

The sovereign States were in full exercise of their powers, called the war ended, and thus established the National republic.

Mr. Pierce was descended from [illegible] Hollis Hall, his [illegible] in the Democratic party for the Presidency, and [illegible] from public life, leaving [illegible] to [illegible] seeking, if possible, the [illegible] that were agitated [illegible] between the Northern and Southern States. [illegible] the new era in American history, good feeling [illegible].

Conse[illegible] which [illegible] to the progress [illegible] Democracy [illegible] a [illegible] with [illegible] the abolition of slavery, [illegible] Whig [illegible] and divided the Democratic party [illegible] factions. The [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] except the Constitution [illegible] the security of the States.

Mr. Pierce [illegible] the Bank bill, but the Civil War [illegible] a National banking system for the [illegible] banks of issue and for [illegible] [illegible] secured the perpetuity of the [illegible] and the Democratic [illegible] [illegible] the principles of National bodies.

Mr. Pierce [illegible] the annexation of Texas, [illegible] [illegible] from [illegible] New England.

There are [illegible] of the period of outlook from the old [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] the next periods [illegible] [illegible] from lines of National policy [illegible] established by Mr. Jefferson in the [illegible] was born.

Other interesting [illegible] of the present wise and worthy [illegible] in the Pacific ocean were planted during Mr. Pierce's [illegible] as Democratic [illegible] of Jefferson's plan. Through his great [illegible] Commodore Perry, [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] with Japan, negotiated by Commodore Perry. That [illegible] opened the ports and [illegible] to Japan, through which the light has entered a hundred nations and within the pale of [illegible] civilization, has lifted that people into equality with the [illegible] of the world. And the more broad and [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] in clothing and [illegible] [illegible] the Hawaiian Islands, and has gathered that people into the [illegible] [illegible] of our Great Republic.

A still broader and more [illegible] policy was conceived in that Administration as to Cuba, in the Ostend conference, which has ripened into the noblest results of National benevolence, through the redemption of those islands from the oppressions of the last and worst form of Bourbon despotism.

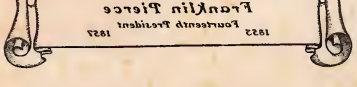
These events were [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] time has brought all of them more speedy realization. Such men were [illegible] [illegible] Government would be [illegible] [illegible] honest and generous efforts to extend the blessings of its influence and protection [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].

In the second half of this century, the consummation of the work [illegible] [illegible] has been accomplished on the [illegible] American policy will [illegible] [illegible] from the greatest Democratic [illegible] [illegible] Constitution of the United States.

A notable [illegible] in [illegible] the spirit of that Administration, was the [illegible] of the British minister and the [illegible] consul at New York, Philadelphia and Cincinnati, be aware of their complicity [illegible] [illegible] recruits in the British army for the Crimean war.

Mr. Pierce's [illegible] [illegible] in the company of excelling peers, [illegible] the south, and their influence was [illegible] in all its history. His college mates, Bowdoin [illegible] when he graduated there [illegible] [illegible], were such men as John P. Hale, Prof. Calvin Stowe, Sergeant Prentiss, Henry W. Longfellow and Nathaniel Hawthorne.

John T. Morgan



Franklin Pierce
Fourteenth President
1853 1857

Pierce

FROM the birth of Franklin Pierce on the 23d of November, 1804, to his election as President in November, 1853, a half century of American history was recorded, from which has been developed another half century of growth in unforeseen movements that are a natural and logical result of our institutions of government, and of the genius of our people. Mr. Pierce's Administration marked the turning point in this National progress. In the main, the discussion of the sovereignty of the several States was the engrossing political topic of the era that closed with his Administration of the Presidency. That discussion had two results. The sovereign rights of the States brought the Southern States under arms, as independent States, to defend the rights of the people, relating to slavery, under the Constitution, and the Northern States into battle array, to sustain the principles stated in the Declaration of Independence.

There was congruity in these opposing doctrines, and the doctrine of the Declaration of Independence won the battle.

The sovereign States were in full exercise of their powers when the war ended, and they re-established the National Republic.

Mr. Pierce was defeated by Mr. Buchanan for renomination by the Democratic party, for the Presidency, and disappeared from public life, leaving to his successor the task of avoiding, if possible, the conflict that then appeared to be unavoidable, between the Northern and Southern States. The door that led to the new era in American history stood ready to be opened.

Conservatism, which meant resistance to the progress for which Congress is sponsor, was the party shiboleth of the Democracy and the creed of the silver-grey Whigs, but the pressure of a world-wide demand for the abolition of slavery, crushed the Whig party and divided the Democratic party into warring factions. The mighty blow fell upon all, and crushed everything except the Constitution and the sovereignty of the States.

Mr. Pierce opposed the fiscal bank bill, but the Civil War has substituted a National banking system for all the State banks of issue, and the Supreme Court has, virtually, decreed the perpetuity of the system, and no Democratic convention now disputes the necessity for National banks.

Mr. Pierce favored the annexation of Texas, against a powerful opposition in his native New England.

These are some of the points of outlook from the old era that have been reached in the new periods, without any deviation from lines of National policy that were established by Mr. Jefferson in the year that Mr. Pierce was born.

Other interesting initiatives of our present wise and worthy policies in the Pacific ocean were planted during Mr. Pierce's Administration, as Democratic measures on Jefferson's plan.

Through his great Secretary of State, William S. Marcy, he conducted the first commercial treaty with Japan, negotiated by Commodore Perry. That treaty opened the door of real civilization to Japan, through which a light has entered a darkened nation, and within the life of a generation, has lifted that people into recognized equality with the great powers of the world. And the same broad and sagacious statesmanship has aided in civilizing and Americanizing the Hawaiian Islands, and has gathered that people into the nurturing bosom of our Great Republic.

A still broader and more generous policy was ordained in that Administration as to Cuba, in the Ostend conference, which has ripened into the noblest results of National benevolence, through the redemption of that fair island from the oppressions of the last and worst form of Bourbon despotism.

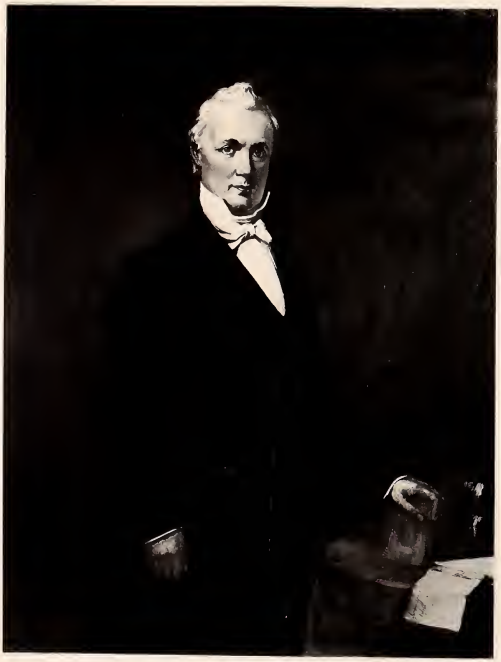
These events were fixed in the wise councils of Mr Pierce and his great Cabinet, and time has brought all of them into speedy realization. Such men were never afraid that our Government would be weakened by honest and generous efforts to extend the blessings of its influence and protection to oppressed peoples.

In the second half of this century, the consummation of the work laid out in the first has been accomplished on the true lines of American policy, without any deviation from the strictest Democratic construction of the Constitution of the United States.

A notable incident to illustrate the spirit of that Administration, was the dismissal of the British minister and the British consuls at New York, Philadelphia and Cincinnati, because of their complicity in the illegal enlistment of recruits in the British army for the Crimean war.

Mr. Pierce's life was fashioned in the company of excellent people, from his youth, and their influence was manifest in all his history. His college mates at Bowdoin College, where he graduated third in his class, were such men as John P. Hale, Prof. Calvin Stone, Sergeant Prentiss, Henry W. Longfellow and Nathaniel Hawthorne.

John T. Morgan



James Buchanan

Buchanan

MR. BUCHANAN came to the President [illegible] the Pennsylvania legislature, then [illegible] States Senate [illegible] of State, then [illegible] England [illegible] His personal appearance [illegible] in height, broad [illegible] and admir[illegible] [illegible] gentleman of the old school. His [illegible] defect he habitually inclined [illegible] courtly and handsome man, [illegible] look than any President I have [illegible] reproach and [illegible] and was always [illegible] not until late in life [illegible] Reverend William M. [illegible] New York [illegible] Buchanan [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Administration [illegible] North and West [illegible] Henry, his [illegible] expressed to me [illegible] regard his course [illegible] from a bloody and devastating war, and would [illegible] in administering the Government for the good of the whole [illegible] His conviction on this point was so genuine that he [illegible] seemed to entertain a misgiving or a doubt." [illegible]

James Buchanan
Fifteenth President
1857 1861

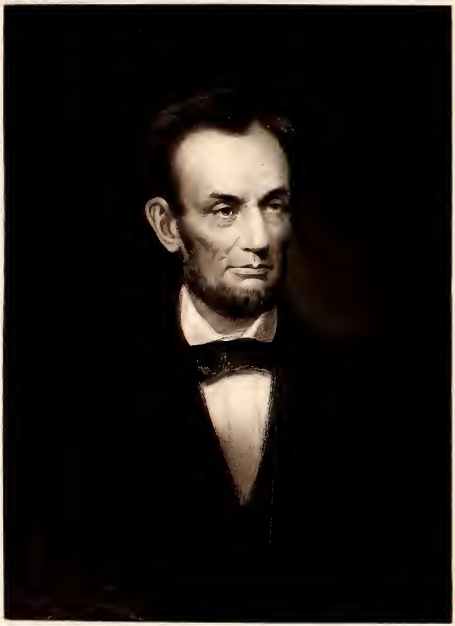
Buchanan

R. BUCHANAN came to the Presidency through gradual promotion; first the Pennsylvania legislature, then Congress, next minister to Russia, then the United States Senate for three terms, next Secretary of State, then minister to England from which he returned to assume the reins of government. His personal appearance was striking. He was a little over six feet in height, broad shouldered and admirably proportioned; dignified without austerity, gracious to all and especially courteous to women. His complexion was fair, his forehead massive; he wore no beard, while his abundant silky white hair, scrupulous neatness in dress, with the old-fashioned standing collar and large white cravat, stamped him as a gentleman of the old school. His eyes were blue, one near- and one far-sighted, because of which defect he habitually inclined his head to one side to favor the better eye. He was essentially a courtly and handsome man, and reached more nearly my ideal of how a President should look than any President I have seen. His moral character and personal virtue were above reproach and, so far as I know, were never assailed. He was of an eminently religious turn and was always a regular attendant at the Presbyterian church in Washington, although it was not until late in life that he formally connected himself with any church. It is related by Reverend William M. Paxton, D. D., pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in New York city, how this came about. While both were at Bedford Springs, Pa., in 1860, Mr. Buchanan sent for Dr. Paxton and conversed with him freely on the subject of religion, and then and there declared his intention to make a public profession upon his retirement from the Presidential chair. When urged to take the step at once, his reply was, with deep feeling: "I must delay for the honor of religion. If I were to join the church now, they would say hypocrite from Maine to Georgia." He carried out his purpose immediately upon his retirement and return to his home in Lancaster, Pa.

Of his scrupulous integrity and exactness in public affairs, I recall this incident. During his Administration the revenue cutter "Harriet Lane," named in honor of his niece, an uncrowned queen, was sent to Washington. Howell Cobb, Secretary of the Treasury, seized the opportunity to invite all the public officials and many prominent citizens in Washington to an excursion on this recent and handsomest addition to the revenue marine. The trip down the Potomac proved a brilliant success. After it was over, Mr. Buchanan, who did not go, desired to know who was to foot the bill. The Secretary was somewhat embarrassed when informed that it must not be paid from the Treasury, but that he, the President, would, if necessary, draw his own check for the amount. Mr. Cobb managed the matter without taking it from the public funds. It would be interesting if Congress would now institute an inquiry how frequently this precedent has since been ignored, and how many millions have been squandered in official junketing.

Space is not given me to speak of Mr. Buchanan's attitude after the acts of secession were committed. It is necessary only to say that a purer or more loyal patriot did not exist, but he had an antagonistic and partly disloyal Congress which absolutely refused to heed his messages of December, 1860, and January, 1861, and provide him the men and means to stamp out the rising and most formidable insurrection. It alone had the constitutional right to do so. The President was at all times ready to execute the laws, but Congress neglected to exercise its constitutional prerogative. The little regular army was scattered along our exposed frontier. It was with much difficulty that the President could get a regular battery to Washington in time for the inauguration. The Capital was filled with secessionists, organized and ready to overthrow the Government. The district militia hastily formed was a mob. The North was greatly divided and New York city peculiarly so, with scarcely a prominent newspaper that was not opposed to a civil conflict. Mr. Buchanan, therefore, as did Mr. Lincoln for six weeks after his inauguration, bent all his energies to a peaceful solution of the difficulties. He, as very few did, appreciated the extent and horror of an internecine struggle, and the last words he said to my father as he bade him farewell at the depot, was the expression of his great relief that his Administration had closed without bloodshed. The gun at Sumter which consolidated the North and West made it easy for Mr. Lincoln to meet force with force. Says James Buchanan Henry, his faithful ward and private secretary: "Mr. Buchanan, to the day of his death, expressed to me his abiding conviction that the American people would, in due time, come to regard his course as the only one which at that time promised any hope of saving the Nation from a bloody and devastating war, and would recognize the integrity and wisdom of his course in administering the Government for the good of the whole people, whether North or South. His conviction on this point was so genuine that he looked forward serenely to the future, and never seemed to entertain a misgiving or a doubt." And they will.

Horatio C. King



A. Lincoln

Lincoln

TESTED by the standards of many other great men, Lincoln was not great, but tested by the only true standard of human greatness he may justly assume its highest place as one of the greatest American statesmen. Indeed, in some most essential attributes of greatness I doubt whether any of the public men ever compared with him. If there be yet any intelligent American who believes that Lincoln was an important man, unimportant in character if genius may ever be so described, I undertake to convince him, without fear of successful contradiction, that Abraham Lincoln was the finest specimen of all the public men of America in either political party. He was, sometimes, the most grossly misrepresented man in history. The word "politician" as it is now commonly applied and understood, in a bad sense, is the word which we all are employed in the details of political affairs, but no man knew so well as he did, how to subordinate the petty politician to the great statesman, to attain great results; and this work he performed with consummate skill, and left to every subject himself and for the country.

Lincoln's intellectual operations were [illegible] variance as to greatly confuse the [illegible] to analyze. He sought information from many [illegible] weighed it earnestly and [illegible] conclusion as to a public duty [illegible] purpose. He was [illegible] of opinion on any public [illegible]

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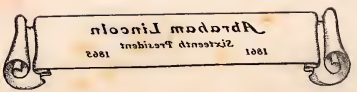
While, Lincoln [illegible] 1859, the [illegible] of 1860, and his [illegible] infelicitous. He [illegible] he had made several [illegible] others if he would make himself President.

There [illegible] Administration in which he did not [illegible] Lincoln who finally, after the most [illegible] Administration, effected a [illegible] Henderson into the Senate, and it was [illegible] the declination of Corrin as a [illegible]

Abraham Lincoln was not a [illegible] sentimentalist on any subject. He was [illegible] his faith. In many of his [illegible] epigrammatic, and he was singularly [illegible] his irresistible logic. But the finer sentiments [illegible] war not only made it clearly possible, but really [illegible] Executive of the Nation it was his duty to [illegible] accepted that duty without reservation. He [illegible] political disturbance. I [illegible] beginning that if we should be successful [illegible] the destruction of slavery. This [illegible] and in closing the war. He [illegible] people that slavery [illegible] Administration as long as [illegible] observed the Constitution and [illegible] an act to justify [illegible] upon the institution of slavery beyond [illegible]

It was not [illegible] to proclaim the [illegible] warranted under the [illegible] from the inauguration of [illegible] returned to the Union [illegible]



Abraham Lincoln
Sixteenth President
1861 1865

Lincoln

TESTED by the standard of many other great men, Lincoln was not great, but tested by the only true standard of his own achievements, he may justly appear in history as one of the greatest American statesmen. Indeed, in some most essential attributes of greatness I doubt whether any of our public men ever equalled him. If there are yet any intelligent Americans who believe that Lincoln was an innocent, rural, unsophisticated character, it is time that they should be undeceived. I venture the assertion, without fear of successful contradiction, that Abraham Lincoln was the most sagacious of all the public men of his day in either political party. He was, therefore, the master-politician of his time. He was not a politician as the term is now commonly applied and understood; he knew nothing about the countless methods which are employed in the details of political effort; but no man knew better, indeed, I think no man knew so well as he did, how to summon and dispose of political ability to attain great political results; and this work he performed with unfailing wisdom and discretion in every contest for himself and for the country.

Lincoln's intellectual organization has been portrayed by many writers, but so widely at variance as to greatly confuse the general reader. Indeed, he was the most difficult of all men to analyze. He sought information from every attainable source. He sought it persistently, weighed it earnestly, and in the end reached his own conclusions. When he had once reached a conclusion as to a public duty, there was no human power equal to the task of changing his purpose. He was self-reliant to an uncommon degree, and yet as entirely free from arrogance of opinion as any public man I have ever known.

Unlike all Presidents who had preceded him, he came into office without a fixed and accepted policy. Civil war plunged the Government into new and most perplexing duties. But Lincoln waited patiently—waited until in the fullness of time the judgment of the people was ripened for action, and then, and then only, did Lincoln act. Had he done otherwise, he would have involved the country in fearful peril both at home and abroad, and it was his constant study of, and obedience to, the honest judgment of the people of the Nation that saved the Republic and that enshrined him in history as the greatest of modern rulers.

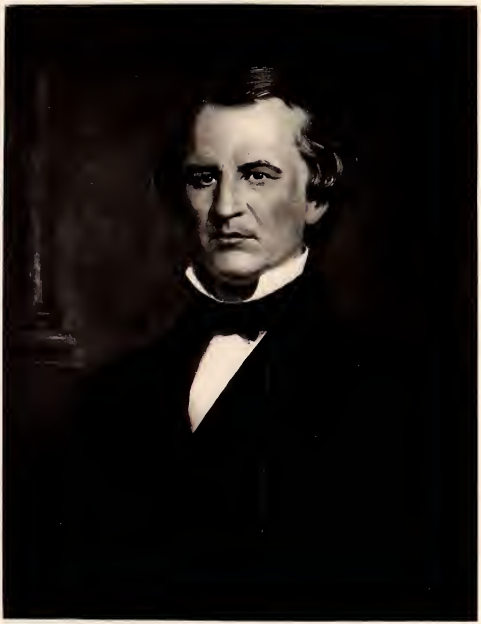
While Lincoln had little appreciation of himself as candidate for President as late as 1859, the dream of reaching the Presidency evidently took possession of him in the early part of 1860, and his efforts to advance himself as a candidate were singularly awkward and infelicitous. He had then no experience whatever as a leader of leaders, and it was not until he had made several discreditable blunders that he learned how much he must depend upon others if he would make himself President.

There were no political movements of National importance during Lincoln's Administration in which he did not actively, although often hiddenly, participate. It was Lincoln who finally, after the most convulsive efforts to get Missouri into line with the Administration, effected a reconciliation of disputing parties which brought Brown and Henderson into the Senate, and it was Lincoln who in 1863 took a leading part in attaining the declination of Curtin as a gubernatorial candidate that year.

Abraham Lincoln was not a sentimental Abolitionist. Indeed, he was not a sentimentalist on any subject. He was a man of earnest conviction and of sublime devotion to his faith. In many of his public letters and state papers he was as poetic as he was epigrammatic, and he was singularly felicitous in the pathos that was so often interwoven with his irresistible logic. But he never contemplated the abolition of slavery until the events of the war not only made it clearly possible, but made it an imperious necessity. As the sworn Executive of the Nation, it was his duty to obey the Constitution in all its provisions, and he accepted that duty without reservation. He knew that slavery was the immediate cause of the political disturbance that culminated in civil war, and I know that he believed from the beginning that if war should be persisted in, it could end only in the severance of the Union or the destruction of slavery. His supreme desire was peace, alike before the war, during the war, and in closing the war. He exhausted every means within his power to teach the Southern people that slavery would not be disturbed by his Administration as long as they themselves obeyed the Constitution and laws which protected slavery, and he never uttered a word or did an act to justify, or even excuse, the South in assuming that he meant to make any warfare upon the institution of slavery beyond protecting the free territories from its desolating tread.

It was not until the war had been in progress for nearly two years that Lincoln decided to proclaim the policy of Emancipation, and then he was careful to assume the power as warranted under the Constitution only by the supreme necessities of war. There was no time from the inauguration of Lincoln until the 1st of January, 1863, that the South could not have returned to the Union with slavery intact in every State.

A. K. McClure



Andrew Johnson

Johnson

THE [illegible] forever [illegible] tailor's bench [illegible] was the only Senat[illegible] [illegible] remained faithful [illegible] United States [illegible] t were prepar[illegible] Not only is there [illegible] mind, but [illegible] purpose, [illegible] American history there can [illegible] respect. Even intelligent [illegible]

Not long since [illegible] Harlan of the Supreme [illegible] a competent witness.

The people [illegible] that was required [illegible] Virginia, or Maryland [illegible] be for the Union [illegible] a Confederate [illegible]

[illegible] At that time [illegible]

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[illegible] the policy [illegible] had lived [illegible] because [illegible] America [illegible] But Johnson [illegible]

[illegible] Andrew Johnson will [illegible] stand in the [illegible] of American patriots [illegible] all the [illegible] Henderson of Missouri [illegible] calamity and burning shame.

Andrew Johnson
Seventeenth President
1865 1869

Johnson

THE three facts which will forever keep Andrew Johnson's name alive are that he rose from a tailor's bench to be Chief Magistrate of the Republic; that he was the only Senator of the United States from any seceding State that remained faithful to the Union, and that he was the only President of the United States who was ever impeached, although bills of impeachment were prepared against John Tyler, a fact not generally known. Not only is there great prejudice against Andrew Johnson in the public mind, but his talents are also greatly underrated. In integrity of purpose, in personal and moral courage, in intensity of patriotism he has had no superior among our Presidents. That his impeachment marks one of the most dangerous epochs of American history there can now be no question among people whose opinion is at all worthy of respect. Even intelligent Republicans now take this view of the matter.

Not long since in a lecture delivered before a college in this city, Mr. Justice John M. Harlan, of the Supreme Court of the United States, stated that as his opinion. He is certainly a competent witness.

The people of the North have never realized, and, perhaps, never will realize, the courage that was required for a man to stand for the Union in 1861 in Tennessee, Kentucky, West Virginia, or Maryland. It was as easy as falling off a log, a slippery log at that, for a man to be for the Union in Massachusetts. It was unprofitable to be anything else. It was easy to be a Confederate in South Carolina. It was dangerous to be otherwise. But in what are known as the "border States," including Tennessee, it was extremely hazardous to be one or the other. The truth is, that there really was no Civil war anywhere to any considerable extent outside of these "border States." So far as the extreme Northern States or the extreme Southern States were concerned what we term Civil war was to all intents and purposes a war between two countries foreign to each other. But in the "border States" it was not only neighborhood against neighborhood, but family against family, father against son, husband against wife, slave against master. That Johnson or any other man had the moral and physical courage to stand up against an overwhelming sentiment in his own State in that critical era is one of the marvels of history.

At the time of the firing on Fort Sumter he was not only one of the ablest men in the Senate from the South, but was also one of the most popular. At that time it appeared that by going with the South there was no station beyond his reach, and that by going with the North he had absolutely nothing to hope for in the way of political preferment. But man proposes and God disposes, and by adhering to the Union he became President of the United States.

It is a fact known of all men who have turned their minds to a contemplation of the subject that for a man to sever his political relations or to run counter on any great question to the sentiments of the community or State in which he lived was, is, and must always be a most painful performance. That Johnson felt this there can be no question; but his love of the Union outweighed all other considerations, and he gave it a courageous, consistent and powerful support. His position probably fixed the position of thousands of Tennesseeans, for that State furnished nearly 40,000 white soldiers for the Union armies, most of them recruited from that portion of the State in which Johnson resided, and in which he had always had his greatest political influence. His love of the Union was supreme. He always said in his stump speeches that when he died he wanted to be buried with the Stars and Stripes for a winding sheet, and his wishes in this regard were gratified.

My own opinion about the matter is that he was impeached for undertaking to carry out the policy of reconciliation which Abraham Lincoln would have successfully carried out if he had lived. Lincoln would not have been impeached for doing what Johnson tried to do, because he was too strong in the hearts of what he affectionately called "the plain people of America," but that he would have suffered in popularity for so doing, there can be no question. But Johnson, being a Southerner, was under suspicion of radical Republicans from the start.

If a true history of the United States is ever written, while Andrew Johnson will not stand in the front rank of American statesmen, he will unquestionably stand in the front rank of American patriots. He did more, and risked more, to preserve the Union than was done by all the men combined who voted for his conviction. I love to remember that General John B. Henderson, of Missouri, a Republican Senator, saved the Republic from that stupendous calamity and burning shame.

Champ Clark

U. S. Grant

Grant

ULYSSES SIMPSON GRANT will be [illegible] generations as the greatest soldier of the [illegible] Century. His achievements as an American soldier will be [illegible] world after his career as an American President shall be forgotten. I [illegible] to intimate [illegible] General Grant's opportunity [illegible] him as President. [illegible] gained immortality by [illegible] Union and Liberty, [illegible] a million men, struck the [illegible] Union and made certain the [illegible] United States.

The distinguishing [illegible] of General Grant [illegible] what should be done in war [illegible] followed [illegible] to do it. He never [illegible]. He was [illegible] of his capacity and strength. When President Lincoln [illegible] in the battle of the Wilderness [illegible], "I will fight it out on this line if it takes all summer." He had determined [illegible] in saving the Union. [illegible] was beaten and Lee surrendered [illegible].

My first [illegible] General Grant [illegible] Springfield, Illinois, [illegible] Governor [illegible] Union. It was some little time before he was given a command. [illegible] by the Governor as colonel of the Twenty-[illegible] Illinois.

General Grant's [illegible] as a soldier [illegible] soldiers and civilians [illegible] Nation [illegible]. He never [illegible] arms. He [illegible] "Silent Man," [illegible] in the army. He [illegible] surrender [illegible].

[illegible] General Grant [illegible] the close of the Civil War until his death [illegible] remarkable [illegible] strangers [illegible] embarrassment. [illegible] his friends. [illegible] "Silent Man" in the army, [illegible] of the most charming [illegible].

As President of the United States, General Grant [illegible] to deal with questions of reconstruction which followed the close of the Civil War [illegible] perhaps, as difficult [illegible] first message to Congress [illegible] Nation. [illegible] person and property of the citizen of the United States [illegible] States [illegible].

President Grant [illegible] Congress [illegible] United States [illegible] San Domingo. He regarded it as [illegible] Senate, which failed [illegible] opposition led by an eminent Senator from Massachusetts [illegible] met with the [illegible] that State.

From the beginning of his first Administration [illegible] would [illegible] face with the people. Yet [illegible] not produce any disturbance whatever, and when the [illegible] improvement [illegible] the Nation's credit at home and abroad [illegible].

General Grant was a great patriot, a great soldier and a great [illegible] after Washington and Lincoln was the Chief Magistrate during the most difficult [illegible] Nation's history.

[illegible]

Ulysses S. Grant
Eighteenth President
1869 1877

Grant

LYSSES SIMPSON GRANT will be remembered by future generations as the greatest soldier of the Nineteenth Century. His achievements as an American soldier will be remembered by the world after his career as an American President shall be forgotten. I do not mean to intimate that he did not make a good President. General Grant's opportunity came to him as a soldier, while Abraham Lincoln's came to him as President. Lincoln had the opportunity and gained immortality by a steadfast devotion to the Constitution, the Union and Liberty; while Grant as the great captain of an army of a million men, struck the blows that conquered rebellion, saved the Union and made certain the freedom of the slaves in the United States.

The distinguishing characteristic of General Grant was his capacity to see and determine what should be done in war as in peace, followed by an untiring, persistent, unwavering courage to do it. He never vacillated nor wavered. He was modest, almost as a maiden, yet conscious of his capacity and strength. When President Lincoln inquired of him how he was getting along in the battle of the Wilderness he answered, "I will fight it out on this line if it takes all summer." He had determined that the war should end then and there, in victory for the Union army, and in saving the Union. Supplies, munitions and men were furnished him; the Confederate army was beaten and Lee surrendered at Appomattox.

My first knowledge of General Grant was in the spring of 1861, when he came to Springfield, Illinois, to tender his services to Governor Yates as a soldier in the cause of the Union. It was some little time before he was given a command. Finally, he was commissioned by the Governor as colonel of the Twenty-first Illinois.

General Grant's career as a soldier was one of victory, and by the common consent of soldiers and civilians, he became the one man entitled to the highest rank and honors, that the Nation he did so much to save, could bestow. He never appeared ambitious for honors or promotions. He never stood in the way of his comrades in arms. He rather sought to do justice by all. He was called the "Silent Man," and he was, in the army. He believed in action, in "moving on the enemy's works;" "the immediate surrender of the enemy."

I had the good fortune to see General Grant often from the close of the Civil War until his death. In his private and public life he was remarkable for his simplicity of manner and confiding disposition with those he knew. He was silent with strangers or with men he doubted. His faith in men came near involving him in trouble and embarrassment. He loved his family, and trusted fully those whom he believed to be his friends. While General Grant was known as the "Silent Man" in the army, socially he was one of the most charming talkers I ever knew.

As President of the United States, General Grant was faithful to his trust. He had to deal with questions of reconstruction which followed the close of the Civil War, and which were, perhaps, as difficult of solution as any in our National history. In his first message to Congress he declared that "three things were essential to peace, prosperity and fullest development of the Nation. First, integrity in fulfilling all our obligations; second, to secure protection to the person and property of the citizen of the United States, wherever he may choose to move without reference to original nationality, religion, color or politics, demanding of the citizen obedience to law; third, union of all States, with equal rights, indestructible by any constitutional means."

President Grant urged upon Congress the importance to the United States of acquiring the island of San Domingo. He regarded it as very desirable on account of the richness of its soil and of its geographical position. As President, he made a treaty with San Domingo, which he submitted to the Senate, which failed of ratification, and it called forth the bitter opposition led by an eminent Senator from Massachusetts as the policy of the present Administration in relation to the Philippines has met with the strong opposition of another eminent Senator from that State.

From the beginning of his first Administration, he never wavered in a determination to protect the country from the greenback craze and to bring the country after the war and its consequent vast indebtedness, to sound money and resumption. During the period between the passage of the Resumption Act of 1875, providing for resumption on January 1, 1879, there was much excitement among the people and charges by good men that an attempt to resume would embarrass and, in fact, ruin the people. Yet when the day for resumption came it did not produce any disturbance whatever, and when the day passed conditions at once began to improve and the Nation's credit at home and abroad was strengthened.

General Grant was a great patriot, a great soldier, and a great President, who after Washington and Lincoln, was the Chief Magistrate during the most difficult period in our Nation's history.

R B Hayes

Hayes

INTEREST in President Hayes is growing, and I am glad to see it. He was not properly appreciated by the country while in life. His history will do him justice. He was in private life a lovable man, and in public life very able. He used his talents and powers for noble purposes. He was of undoubted courage, and physical courage, and always willing to stand by his convictions without regard as to results. He was of humble origin, a self-made man, a lawyer, and I consider these points good. He was a member of Congress, and President of the United States. He distinguished himself in all these relations. He got into prominence by hard work and persistent effort. He was a good man, and he died in the full day of his activities. He had the very best political training for the duties of Cincinnati when the city had its most difficult problems to solve. He was a major general for efficient and gallant conduct in the war. He was elected governor in almost every battle in which he fought.

His election to the Presidency of Ohio was one of the most important and most popular. Dance at the Sixes and Sevens, Findlay, and Delphos. He had friends all to accompany.

He came into the Presidency under the handicap of a disputed title and disappointed many Republicans by his course in pursuing with respect to the South, a policy similar to that pursued by conquerors of the world; but he took that step from a high sense of duty.

My friend, Garfield, one of the ablest men I have ever met, and one of the purest and noblest men in public or private life, our personal friendship for each other was unbroken from boyhood to the day of his death, and I have very much regretted that he was not spared to see the fruition of the work we have done since the war.

When he entered upon the Presidency he very largely adopted my views, but he did not live to receive the credit, nor share in the labor for their adoption. He was assassinated by all forces of disappointed greed in connection with the National nominating convention for patent reform.

Hayes was a success in the Ohio State University, going at the request of the board of trustees. He very much against the work of a warm, adult, and beneficial to humanity as a Chancellor. He was small in stature, but he was not willing to accept any duties that he could not perform to the position assigned him. He did not do the work for the salary or emolument. He was willing to be useful—not that he might be in some sense kept before the public, for he had no disagreeable troubles of that character. It was purely and solely unselfish, and for the good of others.

He had a beautiful home at Fremont, Ohio, with spacious grounds, and there he proceeded to spend his means. He was never a hard student, but he was always a wide and diverse reader, a prominent conversationalist and an agreeable and entertaining companion.

He had a considerable fortune, and a wife and children of affluence, culture and attainments. His was a model home, and there many honored and noble men, and women spent the happiest hours of their life.

Upon the death of President Harris, I was nominated at the bar in Fremont, Ohio. William McKinley, the first governor of Ohio, made a nomination in order to be said among other things: "It [with] he was ready to accept the nomination, defending the country's flag as well as that he deserved a nomination for gallantry, patriotism, and sacrifice." From the completion of his term as President of the United States, he was an exemplification of the noblest qualities of American citizenship in its private relations, modest, unassuming, yet public-spirited, ever striving for the real benefit of the people, the relief of distress, the reformation of abuses, and the practical enactment of the measures of his administration.

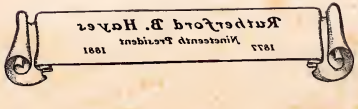
We are made better by such a life. Its serious contemplation will be a potent to all. We add to our own honor by doing honor to the memory of Rutherford B. Hayes.

It is fitting that the people of Ohio—whom he served so long and so well—should take especial note of the going out of this great light, and fitting that the nation in regard as well as we, was held by them.

I, therefore, as Governor of the State of Ohio, recommend that the flags on all public buildings and school houses be placed at half mast, [illegible]

This proclamation may be taken as giving the true estimate of President Hayes' character by the Ohio friend of his who is now at the head of the Nation.

Rutherford B. Hayes was universally respected and admired for strong intellectual endowment, and uprightness of character and purposes. He was a friend as a man, a neighbor and a friend by all whose good fortune it was to know him.



Rutherford B. Hayes
Nineteenth President
1877 1881

Hayes

INTEREST in President Hayes is reviving, and I am glad to note it. He was not properly appreciated by the country while in life. I hope history will do him justice. He was in private life a lovable man, and in public life very able as well as pure and patriotic in his purposes. He was of rugged constitution, of undoubted physical courage, and always willing to stand by his convictions without regard as to results. He was of humble origin, a self-made man, a lawyer and a soldier; three times Governor of Ohio, a member of Congress, and President of the United States. He distinguished himself in all these relations. He got his education by hard work and personal deprivation. He attracted attention at the bar from the day of his admission. He held the very responsible office of city solicitor for the city of Cincinnati when the war broke out. He at once volunteered, and rapidly rose to the rank of major-general for efficient and gallant services rendered at the front. He was distinguished for bravery in almost every battle in which he fought.

His elections to be Governor of Ohio were over the three strongest and most popular Democrats in the State—Thurman, Pendleton, and Allen. He beat them all in succession.

He came into the Presidential office handicapped by a disputed title, and disappointed many Republicans by the course he pursued with respect to the South, particularly as to the Packard government in Louisiana; but he took that step from a high sense of duty.

His Cabinet was one of the ablest we have ever had, and his Administration will compare favorably in all respects, but particularly as to its high moral and patriotic plane, with any we have had since the war.

When he retired from the Presidency he very largely dropped out of sight, but he did not lose interest in public affairs, nor cease to labor for the public good. He was active in all kinds of benevolent work, especially in connection with the National associations for prison reforms, charities, etc.

He took great interest in the Ohio State University, serving as a member of its board of trustees. In fact there was no work of a worthy kind, and beneficial to humanity in a charitable or educational way, in which he was not willing to engage, no matter how humble might be the position assigned him. He did not do this work for the sake of employment—that he might be occupied—nor that he might be in some sense kept before the public, for he had no thoughts or troubles of that character. It was purely and solely unselfish, and for the good of others.

He had a beautiful home at Fremont, Ohio, with spacious grounds, and there he delighted to spend his time. He was never a hard student, but he was always a wide and attentive reader, a charming conversationalist and an agreeable and entertaining companion.

He had a considerable fortune, and a wife and children of ability, culture, and refinement. His was a model home, and there, after he was free from public cares, were spent the happiest days of his life.

Upon the death of President Hayes, which occurred at his home at Fremont, Ohio, William McKinley, Jr., then Governor of Ohio, issued a proclamation, in which he said among other things: "In battle he was brave, and wounds he received in defending his country's flag were silent, but eloquent, testimonials to his gallantry, patriotism, and sacrifice. * * * From the completion of his term as President of the United States, he was an exemplification of the noblest qualities of American citizenship in its private capacity; modest, unassuming, yet public-spirited, ever striving for the well being of the people, the relief of distress, the reformation of abuses, and the practical education of the masses of his countrymen.

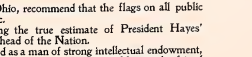
"We are made better by such a life. Its serious contemplation will be helpful to all. We add to our own honor by doing honor to the memory of Rutherford B. Hayes.

"It is fitting that the people of Ohio—whom he served so long and faithfully—should take especial note of the going out of this great light, and make manifest the affectionate regard in which he was held by them.

"I, therefore, as Governor of the State of Ohio, recommend that the flags on all public buildings and schoolhouses be put at half mast," etc.

This proclamation may be taken as giving the true estimate of President Hayes' character by the Ohio President who is now at the head of the Nation.

Rutherford B. Hayes was universally respected as a man of strong intellectual endowment, and uprightness of character and purposes. He was beloved as a man, a neighbor, and a friend by all whose good fortune it was to know him.



J. A. Garfield

Garfield

[illegible]

James A. Garfield

Twentieth President

1881 1881

Garfield

N one of his speeches delivered in the National House of Representatives in 1866, Garfield said: "To all our means of culture is added the powerful incentive to personal ambition which springs from the genius of our Government. The pathway to honorable distinction lies open to all. No post of honor is so high but the poorest may hope to reach it. It is the pride of every American that many distinguished names at whose mention our hearts beat with a quicker bound were worn by the sons of poverty, who conquered obscurity and became fixed stars in our firmament." These words, uttered at a time when Garfield's splendid career was not yet in its opening stages, impart a forcible intimation of one of the marked characteristics of his earnest and determined nature, namely, his clear conception of the opportunities afforded to young men of the present time by our republican form of government and the guaranty it gives of equal rights to all. By these words he evidenced the fact that he had grasped the possibilities of individual attainment, and was imbued with the spirit of our institutions. He knew the possibilities of his own life, and possessed a serene confidence that his country would offer opportunities for their realization.

He never underestimated, and was always quick to see the value of an opportunity. Whatever he set out to do he did it with his might. He did not believe in luck. His estimate of a man was based upon his capacity for hard work. Every effort of life, whether public or private, was to him an opportunity for the emulation of a lofty ideal.

On entering Congress he was immediately recognized as a political force. His first utterance secured the attention of every member. Not possessing the tricks of oratory, he had what is better, the profoundness of logic. Sweeping aside the misty film which shrouded a subject under discussion, he made plain and bare the intricate matter it contained, and in terse, eloquent sentences he forced his conclusions. When he had finished, the discussion was ended.

He was a recognized leader. He was master of all subjects. While he adorned every discussion with his eloquence, he enforced his views with incontrovertible argument. He saw and improved opportunities as they came, and day after day he grew in intellectual vigor and political strength until his reputation became national and his ability commanded universal confidence and respect.

In reaching this eminence he never crawled an inch. He moved upward as the eagle goes to the mountain top. Dignified, but not ostentatious, frank but not blunt, reserved but not austere, patient and laborious, he conquered all conditions, surmounted all obstacles and survived all vicissitudes. When the hand of the assassin laid him low, the characteristics that made him great in life gave the touch of beauty and sublimity to his noble spirit through the closing hours that resulted in death.

Throughout his life he had ever aimed to merit his own self-respect and the approval of his Maker. Accepting his election as United States Senator, in a speech to the Ohio legislature he said: "I have represented for many years a district in Congress whose approbation I greatly desired; but, though it may seem, perhaps, a little egotistical to say it, I yet desired still more the approbation of one person and his name is Garfield."

The abrupt and untimely ending of his career was a sad blow to the country, and a most bitter affliction to his many friends. It removed from our midst in the very prime of usefulness and ability one of the most complete and representative types of human character that our immediate civilization has produced. As we scan the eventful life of this Colossus of men, and consider the unrealized possibilities of his magnificent career, had Fate decreed for him the usual span of earthly existence, we cannot but feel that an irreparable loss was sustained in his death.

By reason of the exalted station he had attained and the extraordinary force and energy of his splendid manhood, great expectations were entertained by all, and especially by those who knew him best, of the good that would come to the country at large as well as to its individual citizens as the result of his further public services.

It is not too much to say that President Garfield's administration, had his term of office extended the full period, by reason of the policies he represented, and the plans contemplated, for the development of our resources and the advancement of our position as a commercial nation, would have been one of the most notable and progressive in American history.

C. A. Arthur

Arthur

PRESIDENT ARTHUR will be dis[illegible] both for what he did and wh[illegible] refrained from [illegible]. The [illegible] intensi[illegible] [illegible]eling, the [illegible] of the [illegible] vindictive p[illegible] the time demanded the rare[illegible] as well as [illegible] qualities. His [illegible] and even [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]tement and app[illegible]led to [illegible] judgment [illegible]. He spoke [illegible] for the [illegible] and impr[illegible] [illegible] and when Cong[illegible] acting upon [illegible] machinery [illegible] satisfactory [illegible] currency and finance he [illegible] needs of [illegible] sentiment of the country. He knew the ne[illegible] and a [illegible] to the requirements of the [illegible]. He keenly felt [illegible] marine, and the total destruction of [illegible] position we had [illegible] N[illegible] the world, and did [illegible] he could to move C[illegible]

The [illegible] of the final surrender [illegible] of the Revolution[illegible] and the close of [illegible] and appropri[illegible] ence of the [illegible] the Nation [illegible] undying [illegible] French patriot and his countrymen [illegible] famous German [illegible] President with characteristic grace and [illegible] that all feelings of hostility [illegible] celebration should [illegible] honor of the British flag [illegible] in recognition of [illegible] long, and so [illegible] and the United [illegible] and confidence of [illegible] countries [illegible] then he [illegible] mark of the [illegible] by the American people [illegible] and g[illegible] upon the British throne."

[illegible] Grant was dying of a lingering [illegible] had befallen him, and [illegible] duties and decline. The old [illegible] would hold his memory sacred [illegible] with which he had become so [illegible] W[illegible] his life should suddenly go out in the darkness [illegible] dependent upon some act which would [illegible] people. Again was illustrated both General Arthur's [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

While [illegible] [illegible] real [illegible] and the [illegible] the President.

The [illegible] on [illegible] people [illegible]

While he wh[illegible] [illegible] with sympathy with [illegible] and distrust which threatened his [illegible] misrepresented and m[illegible]

When the [illegible] General Garfield [illegible] the White House [illegible] taken the oath of office [illegible] A [illegible] upon the nation [illegible] But the [illegible] Arthur [illegible] manliness.

[illegible]

Chester A. Arthur
Twenty-first President
1881 1885

Arthur

PRESIDENT ARTHUR will be distinguished both for what he did and what he refrained from doing. The strain and intensity of public feeling, the vehemence of the angry and vindictive passions of the time, demanded the rarest of negative as well as positive qualities. His calm and even course of government allayed excitement and appealed to the better judgment of the people. He spoke vigorously for the reform and improvement of the Civil Service, and when Congress, acting upon his suggestions, enacted the law, he constructed the machinery for its execution, which has since accomplished most satisfactory, though as yet incomplete results. On questions of currency and finance he met the needs of public and private credit, and the best commercial sentiment of the country. He knew the necessity for efficient coast defenses, and a navy equal to the requirements of the age. He keenly felt the weakness of our commercial marine, and the total destruction of the proud position we had formerly held among the maritime Nations of the world, and did what he could to move Congress to wise and patriotic legislation.

The centennial of the final surrender at Yorktown, which marked the end of the Revolutionary War, and the close of English rule, was celebrated with fitting splendor and appropriateness. The presence of the descendants of Lafayette and Steuben as the guests of the Nation, typified the undying gratitude of the Republic for the services rendered by the great French patriot and his countrymen, and by the famous German soldier. But the President, with characteristic grace and tact, determined that the ceremonies should also officially record that all feelings of hostility against the mother country were dead. He directed that the celebration should be closed by a salute fired in honor of the British flag, as he felicitously said, "in recognition of the friendly relations so long and so happily subsisting between Great Britain and the United States, in the trust and confidence of peace and good-will between the two countries for all the centuries to come," and then he added the sentence, "and especially as a mark of the profound respect entertained by the American people for the illustrious sovereign and gracious lady who sits upon the British throne."

General Grant was dying of a lingering and most painful disease. Manifold and extraordinary misfortunes had befallen him, and his last days were clouded with great mental distress and doubt. The old soldier was most anxious to know that his countrymen freed him and would hold his memory sacred from all blame in connection with the men and troubles with which he had become so strangely, innocently and most inextricably involved. Whether his life should suddenly go out in the darkness, or be spared for an indefinite period was largely dependent upon some act which would convey to him the confidence and admiration of the people. Again were illustrated both General Arthur's strong friendship and its always quick and correct appreciation of the expression of popular sentiment. By timely suggestions to Congress, speedily acted upon, he happily closed the Administration by affixing, as its last official act, his signature to the nomination, which was confirmed with tumultuous cheers, creating Ulysses S. Grant General of the Army. The news flashed to the hero, with affectionate message, rescued him from the grave, to enjoy for months the blissful assurance that comrades and countrymen had taken his character and career into their tender and watchful keeping.

When the bullet of Guiteau struck down President Garfield, there came a perfect whirlwind of resentment and revenge, and General Arthur, by the very necessity of his position, became the object of most causeless and cruel suspicion and assault. But in that hour the real greatness of his character became resplendent. The politician gave place to the statesman, and the partisan to the President.

The months during which President Garfield lay dying by the sea at Elberon were phenomenal in the history of the world. The sufferer became a member of every household in the land, and in all countries, tongues and creeds, sympathetic prayers ascended to God for the recovery of the great ruler beyond the ocean who had sprung from the common people and illustrated the possibilities for the individual where all men are equal before the law.

While he who was to succeed him if he died, though in no place and in no sense charged with sympathy with the assassination, yet was made to feel a National resentment and distrust which threatened his usefulness and even his life. Whether he spoke or was silent he was alike misrepresented and misunderstood.

When the end came for General Garfield, Arthur entered the White House as he had taken the oath of office—alone. A weaker man would have succumbed, a narrower one have seized upon the patronage and endeavored to build up his power by strengthening his faction. But the lineage and training of Arthur stood in this solemn and critical hour for patriotism and manliness.

Chauncey M. Depew.

Grover Cleveland

Cleveland

R. CLE[illegible] is said to have declared, when [illegible] Governor of [illegible] State [illegible] ork, that it was his purpose "to make the [illegible] business between the people of th[illegible] and myself in which [illegible] in my side is to perform the [illegible] charged me with an [illegible] the interests of my employers." And in his first [illegible] as President of the United S[illegible] said: "In the [illegible] official duty, I shall endeavor to be guided by a [illegible] construction of the Constitution, a careful observance [illegible] distinction between the powers granted to the Federal Government and those reserved by the States or to the people." In his adhe[illegible] to these rules of official conduct, in his Administration of the affa[illegible] of the Federal Government, Mr. Cleveland exhibited traits of courage, an unswerving fidelity to convictions, a disdain for vain, disregard of his own mere personal interests that compel the admiration and approval of all fair-minded and unprejudiced men.

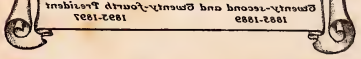
He sincerely desired, and cordially invited, the co-operation of the members of the legislative branch, in his endeavors to prevent lavish waste of the public income, debasement of the national currency, injury to the public credit, and [illegible] encroachment upon the affairs or territory of foreign powers, but, deeply as he was [illegible] at the failure of these measures, and of his own inability to avert them with [illegible] of Senators and Representatives, he steadfastly refused to acquire that ai[illegible] at the sacrifice of official duty and responsibility by surrendering to others the pow[illegible] of his office, by approving [illegible] measure of fraudulent pension [illegible] against public policy. [illegible] public need did not require them [illegible] parts uses [illegible] the public good.

He vetoed scores of bills for the payment of pe[illegible] claimed to be fraudulent and unjust. In his messages the reasons [illegible] were explained with unusual clearness and force. Vetoed bills for the erection of public buildings [illegible] withheld his hand from measures which he believed would [illegible] new [illegible] absolute adherence to duty would alienate his party asso[illegible] and real and pretended opponents.

Perhaps in no other course or policy has his judgment been more [illegible] and his strenuous intrepidity been so conspicuously displayed, as in [illegible] dangerous heresy of foreign conquest, and impudent intermeddling [illegible] powers. Selfish greed masked in the garb of ardent patriotism [illegible] to overthrow the Government of Hawaii and set up a provisional govern[illegible] A treaty of annexation had been negotiated, and was pending in the Senate [illegible] land entered upon his second administration. He withdrew that treaty, and [illegible] to Hawaii to investigate the matter.

[illegible] disturbances in Cuba had become the subject of anxiety and alar[illegible] and [illegible] United States. Our citizens had large investments of [illegible] which w[illegible] by the war then raging between Spain [illegible] and Deep and [illegible] felt and expressed for a people struggling [illegible] his message of De[illegible] Mr. Cleveland said: "The plain [illegible] Government is to [illegible] with the recognized obligations of [illegible] The performance of this duty should not be made more difficult by a disre[illegible] our citizens of the [illegible] growing out of their allegiance to their country [illegible] restrain them from [illegible] individuals, the neutrality which the nation of which [illegible] members, is bound [illegible] its relations to friendly sovereign States." And referring to the same subject in his [illegible] December 7, 1896, he there said: "It is urged that [illegible] and other methods failing [illegible] internecine strife in Cuba should be terminated by our intervention, even at the [illegible] ween the United States and Spain—a war, which its advocates confidently prophes[illegible] be large in its proportions nor doubtful in its result. The correctness of this forec[illegible] be affirmed nor denied. The United States has, nevertheless, a character to ma[illegible], which plainly dictates that right and not might should be the rule of conduc[illegible]

And so on, to the end of [illegible]on, when the halls of Congress were resonant with clamorous cries for war with [illegible] precipitation sought to be justified on grounds of "humanity," and the [illegible] forestal[illegible]s to "manifest destiny," when his judgment was sought to be swerved by intimidati[illegible] or vengeance, and allurements of popular applause and reward, Mr. Cleveland stood [illegible]les "eye single to the interests of his employers," and still guided by a just and un[illegible] construction of the Constitution," he withstood the cravings of the multitude, and stan[illegible]one at the helm, he kept the ship of State true to the chart which he had sworn to follow.



Grover Cleveland

Twenty-second and Twenty-fourth President

1885-1889 *1893-1897*

Cleveland

R. CLEVELAND is said to have declared, when elected Governor of the State of New York, that it was his purpose "to make the matter a business engagement between the people of the State and myself, in which the obligation on my side is to perform the duties assigned me with an eye single to the interests of my employers." And in his first inaugural address as President of the United States, he said: "In the discharge of my official duty, I shall endeavor to be guided by a just and unstrained construction of the Constitution, a careful observance of the distinction between the powers granted to the Federal Government and those reserved to the States or to the people." In his adherence to these rules of official conduct, in his Administration of the affairs of the Federal Government, Mr. Cleveland evinced a loftiness of courage, an unswerving fidelity to conviction, and an unvarying disregard of his own mere personal interests that compel the admiration and approval of all fair-minded and unprejudiced men.

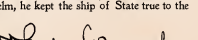
He sincerely desired, and cordially invited, the co-operation of the members of the legislative branch, in his endeavors to prevent lavish waste of the public money, debasement of the national currency, injury to the public credit, and mercenary intrusion upon the affairs or territory of foreign powers, but, deeply as he was convinced of the folly and mischief of these measures, and of his own inability to avert them without the co-operation of the Senators and Representatives, he steadfastly refused to acquire that aid, at the expense of his sense of official duty and responsibility, by surrendering to others the power of appointment to public offices, by approving acts for the payment of fraudulent pension claims, or for the erection of public buildings, at points where public need did not require them, or by perverting to mere party uses the powers confided to him for the public good.

He vetoed scores of bills for the payment of pension claims, which he believed to be fraudulent, and assigned in his messages the reasons for his action, and these remained unanswered. He vetoed bills for the erection of public buildings, on grounds which cannot be shaken. He withheld his hand from measures which he believed to be vicious, when he knew that his resolute adherence to duty would alienate his party associates and inflame the hostile zeal of party opponents.

Perhaps in no other course or policy has his judgment been so fully vindicated and his strenuous intrepidity been so conspicuously displayed, as in his persistent antagonism to the dangerous heresy of foreign conquest, and impudent intermeddling with the affairs of foreign powers. Selfish greed masked in the garb of ardent patriotism employed the Federal Navy to overthrow the Government of Hawaii and set up a provisional government in its stead. A treaty of annexation had been negotiated, and was pending in the Senate when Mr. Cleveland entered upon his second administration. He withdrew that treaty, and sent a commissioner to Hawaii to investigate the matter.

The disturbances in Cuba had become the subject of anxiety and alarm to the Government and people of the United States. Our citizens had large investments of capital in that island, which were seriously imperiled by the war then raging between Spain and her colonists, and deep and earnest sympathy was felt and expressed for a people struggling for liberty. In his message of December 2, 1895, Mr. Cleveland said: "* * * The plain duty of their, our, Government is to observe in good faith the recognized obligations of international relationship. The performance of this duty should not be made more difficult by a disregard on the part of our citizens of the obligations growing out of their allegiance to their country, which should restrain them from violating, as individuals, the neutrality which the nation of which they are members, is bound to observe in its relations to friendly sovereign States." And referring to the same subject in his message of December 7, 1896, he there said: "It is urged finally that, all other methods failing, the existence of internecine strife in Cuba should be terminated by our intervention, even at the cost of a war between the United States and Spain—a war, which its advocates confidently prophesy could neither be large in its proportions nor doubtful in its issue. The correctness of this forecast need neither be affirmed nor denied. The United States has, nevertheless, a character to maintain as a nation, which plainly dictates that right and not might should be the rule of its conduct."

And so on, to the end of his Administration, when the halls of Congress were resonant with clamorous cries for war with Spain, its precipitation sought to be justified on grounds of "humanity," and the event forestalled by appeals to "manifest destiny," when his judgment was sought to be swerved by intimidations of popular vengeance, and allurements of popular applause and reward, Mr. Cleveland stood firm, with his "eye single to the interests of his employers," and still guided by a "just and unstrained construction of the Constitution," he withstood the ravings of the multitude, and standing alone at the helm, he kept the ship of State true to the chart which he had sworn to follow.



Benj Harrison

Harrison

T is [illegible] write of [illegible] allow [illegible] the p[illegible] discrim[illegible] of [illegible] present [illegible] and diffi[illegible] Som[illegible] inspiring [illegible] story [illegible] and it can[illegible] often t[illegible] men are be[illegible] upon w[illegible] of genius, [illegible] em more [illegible] unfolding [illegible] concept[illegible] There are ot[illegible] less rich[illegible] who by will and work animated and [illegible] surpr[illegible] to the highest peaks of power and fame, [illegible] and the [illegible] by all the world.

The reader willingly [illegible] generos[illegible] of personal friendship. [illegible] write man, correctly estimating [illegible] fairly [illegible]s and achievements as a [illegible] ll said that there is nothing more ant life. Men never [illegible] of [illegible] grades in greatness. [illegible] od has dropped [illegible] intellectual power, [illegible] ful mysteries of life. ture's partial hand [illegible] es, have claimed [illegible] and honors

Benjamin Harrison is a self-mad[illegible] from [illegible] distinguished ancestry, he was in youth [illegible] his intellect and [illegible] nobility of his character [illegible] world, the Presidency of the United Stat[illegible]

As a man and citizen Benjamin Har[illegible] manhood and citizenship—industrious, frugal, [illegible] and unselfish[illegible] has been able, painstaking and conscientious [illegible] ew men ha[illegible] attained dignity and honor more [illegible]king. He has won h[illegible] splendid accomplishments and the heroic virtue and [illegible] ver he rose the more strongly were displayed his remarkab[illegible] put brains and conscience into all his work, and the more [illegible] d him, the more brilliancy and bravery he displayed in their a[illegible] from the office of a country lawyer to the White House [illegible] with temptations. It takes keen eyes, steady nerves and [illegible] Benjamin Harrison trod this dangerous road in hope, [illegible] He stumbled. He moved upward with the sturdy [illegible] made politics statesmanship, and showed that [illegible] and Christian gentleman.

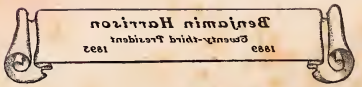
It may be safely said that no man who ever [illegible] was more familiar with all the details of Government than [illegible] knew the functions and was informed as to the duties of every [illegible] d have taken any cabinet portfolio or any bureau or [illegible] of the positions without hesitation. His accurate knowl[illegible] was a constant surprise to those who had occasion to consult [illegible] of the public service. He not only knew all about the business [illegible] that of the transacted with intelligence and fidelity. He had [illegible] capacity in public [illegible]als and employes. He conscientiously b[illegible] is a public trust [illegible] often in private and public [illegible] strongest and better men were [illegible] in the public service. He believed [illegible] of Government as in private busin[illegible] rule of the survival of the [illegible] and honorable sway. He was em[illegible]ctical in directing the a[illegible] affairs. He realized that facts and not theo[illegible] be the moving force in Go[illegible] that to the logical tenants there is the highest wisdom.

Benjamin Harrison was not only able, intelligent and [illegible] in the discharge of his duties as a local and State official, and United States Senator and President, but was thoroughly conscientious and always showed the courage of his convictions. He never hesitated to say or do what he thought ought to be said or done. He is a deeply religious man and believes that religion is for everyday use in all the duties of life. In his private life and in his [illegible] acts and utterances he exhibited the virtues of the Christian as conspicuously as he displayed those of the statesman and patriot.

The people of the United States honor and respect Benjamin Harrison. They believe in him. They admire his great talents and sterling virtues. They know he is honest, wise and brave. His Administration will go into history as one of the wisest and best this one country has ever enjoyed.

Benjamin Harrison as a citizen, a soldier and the Nation's Highest Official, has filled the measure of his duty full. American history can furnish few parallels to his useful and exalted record. As has been well said of another illustrious American—the immortal Lincoln: "None but himself can be his parallel."

Horace A. Taylor



Benjamin Harrison
Twenty-third President
1889 1893

Harrison

IT is easy to write of a friend. The reader willingly makes generous allowance for the partialities of personal friendship. But to write discriminatingly of a living public man, correctly estimating and fairly presenting his character, attainments and achievements, is a delicate and difficult task. Somebody has well said that there is nothing more inspiring than the story of a triumphant life. Men never tire of it and it cannot be too often told. There are grades in greatness. Some men are born great; upon their shoulders God has dropped the mantle of genius, giving them moral worth and intellectual power, and unfolding to their keen conceptions, the wonderful mysteries of life. There are other men less richly endowed by nature's partial hands, who by will and work, animated and guided by noble purposes and lofty virtues, have climbed to the highest peaks of power and fame, and calmly trod the dizzy heights, admired and honored by all the world.

Benjamin Harrison is a self-made and a well-made man. Though coming from a distinguished ancestry, he was in youth poor and comparatively obscure. Yet by the power of his intellect and the nobility of his character, he rose to the highest rank among the rulers of the world, the Presidency of the United States of America.

As a man and citizen Benjamin Harrison presents a model of our best manhood and citizenship—industrious, frugal, sincere and unpretending. As a public official he has been able, painstaking and courageous. Few men have had a life more remarkable or attained dignity and honor more striking. He has won his illustrious way by his great abilities, his splendid accomplishments and the heroic virtue and manliness of his character. The higher he rose, the more strikingly were displayed his remarkable abilities and sterling virtues. He put brains and conscience into all his work, and the more prodigious the tasks that confronted him, the more brilliancy and bravery he displayed in their accomplishment. It is a long road from the office of a country lawyer to the White House. It is full of struggles and beset with temptations. It takes keen eyes, steady nerves and fearless feet to safely find the way. Benjamin Harrison trod this dangerous road in hope, honor and bravery. He rarely faltered or stumbled. He moved upward with the sturdy tread of conscious strength and honesty. He made politics statesmanship, and showed that the successful office-seeker may be the dignified and Christian gentleman.

It may be safely said that no man who ever occupied the Presidential chair was more familiar with all the details of Government than was President Harrison. He knew the functions and was informed as to the duties of every department and bureau. He could have taken any cabinet portfolio or any bureau or commissionership and discharged the duties of the positions without hesitation. His accurate knowledge as to departmental matters was a constant surprise to those who had occasion to consult him with reference to any branch of the public service. He not only knew all about the business of the Government, but he insisted that it be transacted with intelligence and fidelity. He had little toleration for carelessness or incapacity in public officials and employes. He conscientiously believed in the motto that, "public office is a public trust." He often in private and public utterances emphasized the fact that stronger and better men were needed in the public service. He believed that in the affairs of Government as in private business, that the rule of the survival of the fittest should hold absolute and inexorable sway. He was eminently practical in directing the administration of public affairs. He realized that facts and not theories must be the moving forces in Government—that in the logic of events there is the highest wisdom.

Benjamin Harrison was not only able, intelligent and practical in the discharge of his duties as a local and State official, and United States Senator and President, but was thoroughly conscientious and always showed the courage of his convictions. He never hesitated to say or do what he thought ought to be said or done. He is a deeply religious man and believes that religion is for everyday use in all the duties of life. In his private life and in his public acts and utterances he exhibited the virtues of the Christian as conspicuously as he displayed those of the statesman and patriot.

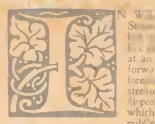
The people of the United States honor and respect Benjamin Harrison. They believe in him. They admire his great talents and sterling virtues. They know he is honest, wise and brave. His Administration will go into history as one of the wisest and best that the country has ever enjoyed.

Benjamin Harrison as a citizen, a soldier and the Nation's Highest Official, has filled the measure of his duty full. American history can furnish few parallels to his useful and exalted record. As has been well said of another illustrious American—the immortal Lincoln: "None but himself can be his parallel."

Horace A. Taylor

William McKinley

McKinley



IN W[illiam] McKINLEY, [twenty-fifth] President of the Unit[ed] St[ates] [was] fortunate to [be] an immortal death and [to] live [in] memory [as] [one] to [be] worthily. Carried by a [wave] at an [early] Union Army his sterling q[ualities] forward [by] merit to a position that none [could] fore[see] under [the] youth of 1861. P[ublic] strenuous [life] but strengthened in him that native [dis]position, [and] dutifulness and [courage] which [have] [won] towards the [highest] public st[ations]. [His] career by his [own] peace he took up the studies and [pro]fession [of] Aided by a steadiness of applicat[ion] place for himself [at the] bar not [unlike] that [which] translation to the field of po[litics].

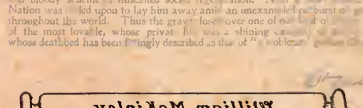
McKinley [was] he came in matchless [contested] Sincerely believ[ing] [in] it, it was [not] Beginning in [the] and doing his [duty] he became a [leader] by the force of his [own] leaders are [born].

Spa[ce] during which he constantly grew in intellectual [stature] the experience necessary to deal with them succes[sfully] too, was preserved his amiability which [never] and won him friends on all sides. He knew his [own] those who differed from him. This unswerving [courage] existing all his life and under the strain of [the] nobility for which mere brilliance would have been [no substitute].

The McKinley Tariff Act brought it[s author] popular reception of it retired him for the moment to [private life] downfall of his party. His courageous answer to the [charge] right and would speedily vindicate itself. Speedily it [did] the great office of Governor of Ohio, with a large [majority] brought another, and in 1892 Governor McKinley [was] National Convention, which showed a disposition [to renominate] candidate, only checked by his own protest against [a third] not honorably stand. Four years later the nomination [was] the semblance of a contest.

McKinley's behavior and addresses during the [campaign] eulogists nothing to desire. He came to the Presidency [with] he would fill it with high conscience, ability and dignity [and] he spent as President, the conviction was equally [justified] interpreter of the National feeling, he laboriously sought to [reconcile] individual members, so that throughout his Presidency the [Republican party] worked together in the public service as they had rarely [done] not always done, but his influence on Congress [was] under the quiet guise of patience and persuasion, was the [greatest] possessed.

As President, McKinley was distinguished by his [unswerving] protectionism to the foundations of the tariff system [of] conduct of the Spanish War, by a just and [humane] Chinese difficulties, winning the gratitude of [China] careful, conscientious and effective manner in which [he] after another, was seated in Cuba, Porto Rico and the Philippines [and] history as one of the most successful of Presidents [he] lacked [the] an address which is worthy to stand as the [last] solemnity it reminded the Nation of the [responsibility] importance in the concerns of the earth [that] friendly rivalry and fraternal relations in the world [at] while holding a public reception at the [exposition] man with a seemingly bandaged and injured hand [a] fatal [shot] treacherous cover, to number the good President among the [martyrs] said bloody scheme of misguided social regeneration. [After] the Nation was called upon to lay him away amid an unexampled [outburst] throughout the world. Thus the grave [closed] over one of our [greatest] of the most lovable, whose private life was a shining [example] whose deathbed has been fittingly described as that of "a noble[man]



William McKinley
Twenty-fifth President
1897 1901

McKinley

N WILLIAM McKINLEY, Twenty-fourth President of the United States, was crowned a fortunate life by an immortal death; and the last moments of his earthly career showed him to be one of those who live their best in order to die worthily. Carried by a patriotic impulse at an early age into the Union Army, his sterling qualities bore him forward by sheer force of merit to a position that none could have foreseen in the quiet and slender youth of 1861. Four years of strenuous army life brought out and strengthened in him that native disposition to habits of discipline, industry, dutifulness and comradeship which afterwards helped him along so surely towards the highest of public stations. Restored to home and a civil career by the return of peace he took up the studies and training that might fit him for the practical work of a lawyer. Aided by a steadiness of application, and by a readiness and power of argument, he made a place for himself at the bar not merely successful, but always so honorably filled that his early translation to the field of politics was a recognized loss to his chosen profession.

McKinley had inherited and grown up among those political principles that, by the time he came to manhood, constituted the creed of the Republican party as founded in 1854. Sincerely believing in them, it was natural to him to engage actively in their advancement. Beginning in the ranks, and doing his duty there, as before, without thought of else than duty, he became a leader by the force of his own qualities and the confidence of those by whom leaders are chosen.

Space forbids other than mere mention of a long career in the House of Representatives, during which he constantly grew in intellectual adaptability to public affairs and broadened in the experience necessary to deal with them successfully on their practical side. In Congress, too, was preserved that amiability which forever saved him from personal rancor on either side, and won him friends on all sides. He knew his own motives and he believed in the sincerity of those who differed from him. This unswerving feeling of comradeship with his fellow-men, existing all his life and under the strain of all circumstances, endowed his character with a nobility for which mere brilliance would have been but a poor exchange.

The McKinley Tariff Act brought its author first prominently before the Nation. The popular reception of it retired him for the moment to private life in the general but temporary downfall of his party. His courageous answer to the public verdict was that the tariff act was right and would speedily vindicate itself. Speedily it did, and the vindication carried him up to the great office of Governor of Ohio, with a large access of National reputation. One term brought another, and in 1892, Governor McKinley was a great figure in the Republican National Convention, which showed a disposition then to take him up as its Presidential candidate, only checked by his own protest against putting him into a position where he could not honorably stand. Four years later the nomination came to him honorably and with hardly the semblance of a contest.

McKinley's behavior and addresses during the whirlwind campaign of 1896 left his eulogists nothing to desire. He came to the Presidency in 1897, amid a popular conviction that he would fill it with high conscience, ability and dignity, and throughout the rest of his life, which he spent as President, the conviction was signally realized. Accepting Congress as the proper interpreter of the National feeling, he laboriously sought to keep on the best terms with it and its individual members, so that throughout his Presidency the legislative and executive departments worked together in the public service as they had rarely done before. With Congress he could not always do all that he would, but his influence over Congress in matters of moment, exercised under the quiet guises of patience and persuasion, was the greatest that any President has yet possessed.

As President, McKinley was distinguished by his prompt success in restoring protectionism to the foundations of the tariff system; by a triumphant but humane and generous conduct of the Spanish War; by a just and enlightened participation in the settlement of the Chinese difficulties, winning the gratitude of China and the esteem of Europe, and by the careful, conscientious and effective manner in which he met the trying problems that arose, one after another, in relation to Cuba, Porto Rico and the Philippines, he would have passed into history as one of the most successful of Presidents had he lacked claims to a higher distinction.

On Thursday, September 5, 1901, at the Buffalo Exposition, President McKinley made an address which is worthy to stand as his final utterance on public affairs. With deep solemnity it reminded the Nation of the responsibilities attending its enlarged power and importance in the concerns of the earth; it proclaimed good-will to all mankind, and spoke for friendly rivalry and fraternal relations in the world-wide activities of commerce. The next day, while holding a public reception at the Exposition and looking compassionately upon a young man with a seemingly bandaged and injured hand, a fatal pistol shot came from beneath the treacherous cover, to number the good President among the blameless victims of a perverted and bloody scheme of miscalled social regeneration. After a brief promise of recovery, the Nation was called upon to lay him away amid an unexampled outburst of grief and admiration throughout the world. Thus the grave closed over one of our first of public men who was one of the most lovable, whose private life was a shining example of purity and devotion, and whose deathbed has been fittingly described as that of "a noble and gallant Christian gentleman."

McKinley's Last Speech

PRESIDENT MILBURN, Director General Buchanan, Commissioners, Ladies and Gentlemen: I am glad to be again in the city of Buffalo and exchange greetings with her people, to whose generous hospitality I am not a stranger and with whose good will I have been repeatedly and signally honored. To-day I have additional satisfaction in meeting and giving welcome to the foreign representatives assembled here, whose presence and participation in this exposition have contributed in so marked a degree to its interest and success. To the Commissioners of the Dominion of Canada and the British colonies, the French colonies, the republics of Mexico and of Central and South America and the commissioners of Cuba and Porto Rico, who share with us in this undertaking, we give the hand of fellowship and felicitate with them upon the triumphs of art, science, education, and manufacture which the old has bequeathed to the new century. Expositions are the timekeepers of progress. They record the world's advancement. They stimulate the energy, enterprise and intellect of the people and quicken human genius. They go into the home. They broaden and brighten the daily life of the people. They open mighty storehouses of information to the student. Every exposition, great or small, has helped to some onward step. Comparison of ideas is always educational, and as such instruct the brain and hand of man. Friendly rivalry follows, which is the spur to industrial improvement, the inspiration to useful invention and to high endeavor in all departments of human activity. It exacts a study of the wants, comforts and even the whims of the people and recognizes the efficiency of high quality and new prices to win their favor. The quest for trade is an incentive to men of business to devise, invent, improve and economize in the cost of production.

Business life, whether among ourselves or with other people, is ever a sharp struggle for success. It will be none the less so in the future. Without competition we would be clinging to the clumsy antiquated processes of farming and manufacture and the methods of business of long ago, and the twentieth would be no further advanced than the eighteenth century. But though commercial competitors we are, commercial enemies we must not be.

The Pan-American exposition has done its work thoroughly, presenting in its exhibits evidences of the highest skill and illustrating the progress of the human family in the western hemisphere. This portion of the earth has no cause for humiliation for the part it has performed in the march of civilization. It has not accomplished everything; far from it. It has simply done its best, and without vanity or boastfulness, and recognizing the manifold achievements of others, it invites the friendly rivalry of all the powers in the peaceful pursuits of trade and commerce, and will co-operate with all in advancing the highest and best interests of humanity.

The wisdom and energy of all the nations are none too great for the world's work. The success of art, science, industry and invention is an international asset and a common glory.

After all, how near one to the other is every part of the world. Modern inventions have brought into close relation widely separated peoples and made them better acquainted. Geographic and political divisions will continue to exist, but distances have been effaced. Swift ships and fast trains are becoming cosmopolitan. They invade fields which a few years ago were impenetrable. The world's products are exchanged as never before, and, with increasing transportation facilities, come increasing knowledge and larger trade. Prices are fixed with mathematical precision by supply and demand. The world's selling prices are regulated by market and crop reports.

We travel greater distances in a shorter space of time and with more ease than was ever dreamed of by the fathers. Isolation is no longer possible or desirable. The same important news is read, though in different languages, the same day in all christendom. The telegraph keeps us advised of what is occurring everywhere, and the press foreshadows, with more or less accuracy, the plans and purposes of the nations.

Market prices of products and of securities are hourly known in every commercial mart, and the investments of the people extend beyond their own national boundaries into the remotest parts of the earth. Vast transactions are conducted and international exchanges are made by the tick of the cable. Every event of interest is immediately bulletined. The quick gathering and transmission of news, like rapid transit, are of recent origin and are only made possible by the genius of the inventor and the courage of the investor. It took a special messenger of the government, with every facility known at the time for rapid travel, nineteen days to go from the city of Washington to New Orleans with a message to General Jackson that the war with England had ceased and a treaty of peace had been signed. How different now!

We reached General Miles in Porto Rico by cable and he was able through the military telegraph to stop his army on the firing line with the message that the United States and Spain had signed a protocol suspending hostilities. We knew almost instantly of the first shots fired at Santiago, and the subsequent surrender of the Spanish forces was known at Washington within less than an hour of its consummation. The first ship of Cervera's fleet had hardly emerged from that historic harbor when the fact was flashed to our capital, and the swift destruction that followed was announced immediately through the wonderful medium of telegraphy.

So accustomed are we to safe and easy communication with distant lands that its temporary interruption even in ordinary times results in loss and inconvenience. We shall never forget the days of anxious waiting and awful suspense when no information was permitted to be sent from Pekin, and the diplomatic representatives of the nations in China, cut off from all communication, inside and outside of the walled capital, were surrounded by an angry and misguided mob that threatened their lives; nor the joy that thrilled the world when a single message from the government of the United States brought through our minister the first news of the safety of the besieged diplomats.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century there was not a mile of steam railroad on the globe. Now there are enough miles to make its circuit many times. Then there was not a line of electric telegraph; now we have a vast mileage traversing all lands and all seas. God and man have linked the nations together. No nation can longer be indifferent to any other. And as we are brought more and more in touch with each other the less occasion is there for misunderstandings and the stronger the disposition, when we have differences, to adjust them in the court of arbitration, which is the noblest forum for the settlement of international disputes.

My fellow citizens, trade statistics indicate that this country is in a state of unexampled prosperity. The figures are almost appalling. They show that we are utilizing our fields and forests and mines and that we are furnishing profitable employment to the millions of workingmen throughout the United States, bringing comfort and happiness to their homes and making it possible to lay by savings for old age and disability. That all the people are participating in this great prosperity is seen in every American community and shown by the enormous and unprecedented deposits in our savings banks. Our duty is the care and security of these deposits, and their sale investment demands the highest integrity and the best business capacity of those in charge of these depositories of the people's earnings.

We have a vast and intricate business, built up through years of toil and struggle, in which every part of the country has its stake, which will not permit of either neglect or of undue selfishness. No narrow, sordid policy will subserve it. The greatest skill and wisdom on the part of the manufacturers and producers will be required to hold and increase it. Our industrial enterprises which have grown to such great proportions affect the homes and occupations of the people and the welfare of the country. Our capacity to produce has developed so enormously and our products have so multiplied that the problem of more markets requires our urgent and immediate attention. Only a broad and enlightened policy will keep what we have. No other policy will get more. In these times of marvelous business energy and gain we ought to be looking to the future, strengthening the weak places in our industrial and commercial systems, that we may be ready for any storm or strain.

By sensible trade arrangements which will not interrupt our home production we shall extend the outlets for our increasing surplus. A system which provides a mutual exchange of commodities, a mutual exchange is manifestly essential to the continued and healthful growth of our export trade. We must not repose in fancied security that we can forever sell everything and buy little or nothing. If such a thing were possible, it would not be best for us or for those with whom we deal. We should take from our customers such of their products as we can use without harm to our industries and labor. Reciprocity is the natural outgrowth of our wonderful industrial development under the domestic policy now firmly established. What we produce beyond our domestic consumption must have a vent abroad. The excess must be relieved through a foreign outlet and we should sell everywhere we can, and buy wherever the buying will enlarge our sales and productions, and thereby make a greater demand for home labor.

The period of exclusiveness is past. The expansion of our trade and commerce is the pressing problem. Commercial wars are unprofitable. A policy of good will and friendly trade relations will prevent reprisals. Reciprocity treaties are in harmony with the spirit of the times, measures of retaliation are not.

If perchance some of our tariffs are no longer needed, for revenue or to encourage and protect our industries at home, why should they not be employed to extend and promote our markets abroad? Then, too, we have inadequate steamship service. New lines of steamers have already been put in commission between the Pacific coast ports of the United States and those on the western coasts of Mexico and Central and South America. These should be followed up with direct steamship lines between the eastern coast of the United States and South American ports. One of the needs of the times is direct commercial lines from our vast fields of production to the fields of consumption that we have but barely touched. Next in advantage to having the thing to sell is to have the convenience to carry it to the buyer. We must encourage our merchant marine. We must have more ships. They must be under the American flag, built and manned and owned by Americans. These will not only be profitable in a commercial sense; they will be messengers of peace and amity wherever they go. We must build the isthmian canal, which will unite the two oceans and give a straight line of water communication with the western coasts of Central and South America and Mexico. The construction of a Pacific cable cannot be longer postponed.

In the furtherance of these objects of national interest and concern you are performing an important part. This exposition would have touched the heart of that American statesman whose mind was ever alert and thought ever constant for a larger commerce and a truer fraternity of the republics of the new world. His broad American spirit is felt and manifested here. He needs no identification to an assemblage of Americans anywhere, for the name of Blaine is inseparably associated with the Pan-American movement, which finds this practical and substantial expression, and which we all hope will be firmly advanced by the Pan-American congress that assembles this autumn in the capital of Mexico. The good work will go on. It cannot be stopped. These buildings will disappear; this creation of art and beauty and industry will perish from sight, but their influence will remain to

"Make it live beyond its too short living
With praises and thanksgiving."

Who can tell the new thoughts that have been awakened, the ambitions fired and the high achievements that will be wrought through this exposition? Gentlemen, let us ever remember that our interest is in concord, not conflict, and that our real eminence rests in the victories of peace, not those of war. We hope that all who are represented here may be moved to higher and nobler effort for their own and the world's good, and that out of this city may come, not only greater commerce and trade for us all, but more essential than these, relations of mutual respect, confidence and friendship which will deepen and endure.

Our earnest prayer is that God will graciously vouchsafe prosperity, happiness and peace to all our neighbors, and like blessings to all the peoples and powers of earth.